THE

PEOPLE'S

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE;

OR

THE LIFE

OF

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,

OF

OHIO.

BY RICHARD HILDRETH.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The materials for the following "Life" have been chiefly derived from a work published in Cincinnati in 1824, entitled "A historical narrative of the civil and military services of Major General William H. Harrison, and a vindication of his character and conduct as a statesman, a citizen, and a soldier; with a detail of his negotiations and wars with the Indians until the final overthrow of the celebrated chief Tecumthe, and his brother the Prophet. The whole written and compiled from original and authentic documents furnished by many of the most respectable characters in the United States; by Moses Dawson." This is a thick octavo of nearly five hundred closely printed pages, containing many state papers, letters, and public documents, and furnishing a great mass of facts, but very ill arranged, and running frequently into a tedious and confused minuteness. This book has long since been out of print, and to the general reader it could never have been a very inviting performance.

Considerable use has also been made of a "Memoir of the public services of William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, by James Hall;" published at Philadelphia in 1836. That work has considerable merit, but seems to have been hastily compiled; its arrangement is very defective; the main narrative is too much overlaid by unimportant details, and it fails to

leave any clear and distinct impression on the reader's mind.

The present narrative presents a brief and comprehensive, and it is hoped a clear and correct view of the wars and negotiations on our Northwestern frontier, from the adoption of the federal constitution till the close of the last war with Great Britain, by which event the power of the Indian tribes in that region was so broken as to leave them no longer a formidable enemy. This is a part of our history full of interest, though little known. These events are essentially connected with the life of General Harrison, and form indeed a principal part of it.

Brought forward as that gentleman has been once and again as a prominent candidate for the presidential chair, by supporters not less respectable for their numbers than entitled to regard for their patriotism, sound judgment, and knowledge of popular sentiment, some curiosity must naturally be felt to know the history of his political services. His retirement from public life for several years previous to his nomination as a presidential candidate, has thrown that history into the back ground,—and it is only by some such memoir as the present, that it can be brought out again to the public recollection.

In the compilation of this little work, the author has not aimed at a panegyric, but simply at a clear and candid statement of facts ; a statement, it may be observed, which seems to prove that General Harrison possesses feelings, principles, and traits of character such as qualify him in a peculiar manner, to fill with honor to himself and advantage to his country, the high station for which he has been nominated.

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LIFE

OF

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

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William Henry Harrison was born on the ninth day of February, 1773, in the county of Charles City, in Virginia, at a place called Berkley, on the banks of the James River, some twentyfive miles below Richmond. He was the third and youngest son of Benjamin Harrison, a distinguished citizen of Virginia, lineally descended from that General Harrison, who made so conspicuous a figure in the English civil wars, and who held a high command in the armies of the Commonwealth.

Benjamin Harrison, was one of the representatives of the "Old Dominion," in the Continental Congress, during the years 1774, 1775, and 1776. He was the brother-in-law of Peyton Randolph, the first president of Congress; and on the

death of that distinguished patriot, it was the desire of many of the southern members that Mr Harrison should succeed his brother-in-law, as the presiding officer over that body. But he was well aware of the existence of strong sectional feelings and prejudices both in Congress and the country at large. He was sensible of the danger of irritating those prejudices, and was desirous of improving the opportunity now afforded, to conciliate the northern members, and to secure their confidence. Accordingly he used all his influence on behalf of John Hancock of Massachusetts, and succeeded in procuring for him a unanimous vote.

Mr Harrison was Chairman of the Committee of the whole House, when the Declaration of Independence was finally agreed to; and his signature is annexed to that celebrated document. In the year 1777, having been elected to the House of Delegates of the state of Virginia, he was chosen Speaker of that body, which office he continued to fill till 1782, when he was elected Governor of the State. All these important trusts he discharged to the entire satisfaction of his fellow citizens.

Benjamin Harrison did not accumulate a fortune in the public service. On the contrary he expended his own private means, and left his children little other inheritance except his example, and the friendship of many of his distinguished fellow-patriots. At the death of his father, William Henry Harrison was under age. Robert Morris, the celebrated financier, at his father's request, had consented to act as his guardian. He had determined to follow the profession of medicine, and was diligently pursuing his studies, with that object, at Hampden Sidney college, when the

ravages committed by the Indians on our northwestern frontier, and the opportunity afforded of serving his country in that dangerous quarter, induced him to adopt the idea of joining the army under General St. Clair, which had been raised for the purpose of bringing the Indians to terms. His resolution with respect to this matter, was strongly opposed by his guardian. But it was approved by General Washington, then president of the United States, who had been the intimate friend of his father, and who gave him a commission of ensign in the first regiment of United States artillery, then stationed at Fort Washington on the Ohio, near the present site of the city of Cincinnati. Thus, at the early age of nineteen, William Henry Harrison became intimately associated with the fortunes of the Northwestern Territory, and entered upon a long career of public service, in that section of the country. Before we follow him thither, it will be well to take a general view of the state of affairs at that time upon the northwestern border.

During the war of the Revolution, Great Britain succeeded in persuading almost all the Indian tribes along the whole frontier, to raise the tomahawk against the people of the United States. Shortly after the close of that war, several of these tribes were induced to enter into treaties of peace. But the Indians northwest of the Ohio, still retained all their former hostility, and continued to carry on a murderous and desolating war, directed chiefly against the western border of Pennsylvania, and the few scattered settlements which had been formed within the Northwestern Territory.

The principal among these tribes, were the *Miamies*, whose various bands occupied, or claim-

ed, an immense extent of territory, including all that part of Ohio, west of the Scioto, almost all of Indiana, and a large portion of Illinois. Of this immense territory, however, the greater part was entirely destitute of inhabitants. The various bands or tribes, into which the Miamies were subdivided, possessed numerous villages on the Scioto, and about the head waters of the Great and the Little Miami. There were also many villages upon the Maumee, and its tributaries, and along the course of the Wabash, as low down as Vincennes. But the whole country, for a great extent, bordering on the river Ohio, was entirely destitute of inhabitants, and was used merely as a hunting ground.

Next to the Miames, may be ranked the Hurons or *Wyandots*, who occupied the southern shore of Lake Erie, including all that territory now known as the *Connecticut Reserve;* a small tribe, but enjoying a high reputation among the northwestern Indians, on account of the desperate valor of its warriors.

In addition to these two tribes, there were also within the present limits of Ohio, and engaged in this war against the United States, the *Delawares*, or Leni Lenapes, who had gradually retreated before the white man, from their original seats on the banks of the river Delaware; and the *Shawnees*, who, about the middle of the eighteenth century, had fled or emigrated from Georgia or Florida—driven out probably by some stronger tribe,—and had sought an asylum north of the Ohio.

Besides the four tribes above enumerated, the Chippewas, Ottowas, and Potowatomies, who occupied the peninsula of Michigan, also took a part in the hostilities carried on against the United

States; and these seven tribes united, were able to bring into the field a very formidable force.

It was generally believed, at that time, and no doubt it was the fact, that the hostility of these tribes against the United States was stimulated, and that ammunition, arms, and other means of carrying on the war were supplied by the British authorities in Canada, through the commandants of the forts at Detroit, Chicago, Mackinac, and other posts within the limits of the United States, which according to the provisions of the treaty of peace, ought long since to have been surrendered, but which were still kept possession of by British troops.

The pretence or apology, for keeping possession of these posts, was founded upon the allegation, that the United States, or rather the individual States of the union, had neglected to perform that part of the treaty, which guaranteed the removal of all legal obstacles in the way of collecting debts due to British subjects, which had been contracted previous to the war. As the whole value of these posts consisted in the influence which the possessors of them were able to exert over the neighboring Indians, there is little doubt that the British government, by way of enforcing their demand on the subject of British debts, used every means in their power, to make the people of the United States *feel* the necessity of obtaining their surrender.

The hostilities of these northwestern tribes, whether stimulated by the British, or originating in their own love of war, became at length so annoying, that very soon after the re-organization of the government by the adoption of the federal constitution, the president resolved upon vig-

orous measures. In the year 1790, General Harmer, at the head of about fifteen hundred men, partly regulars, but principally militia, was sent against the northwestern Indians. He marched into the interior of what is now the state of Ohio, and succeeded in destroying most of the Indian towns on the Scioto. But in two engagements between bodies of the Indians, and detachments of Harmer's troops, the Americans were defeated with considerable loss. Harmer found it necessary to retreat; and in a short time, the incursions and depredations of the Indians along the frontier, became as troublesome as ever.

This unfortunate state of affairs was brought before Congress, and an act was passed increasing the regular army, and enabling the President to raise two thousand men, under the denomination of levies, to serve against the Indians for six months. It was resolved to prosecute the war with vigor, and General St. Clair, at that time governor of the Northwestern Territory, was appointed Commander-in-chief.

The enlistment, however, and other preparations for the campaign went on but slowly; and the beginning of September had arrived before St. Clair was able to commence his march into the Indian country. He advanced cautiously, opening a road, and building forts at convenient distances. In this way he had arrived within about fifteen miles of the Miami villages, near the head waters of the Wabash, when on the 4th of November, 1791, about half an hour before sun-rise, he was suddenly attacked in his camp by a large body of Indians. The assailants pressed forward with great rapidity. Firing from the ground, or the shelter afforded by the trees, and scarcely seen, except when spring-

ing from one covert to another, they advanced in front and upon both flanks, close upon the American lines, and up to the very mouths of the field pieces. The militia who were posted in front, were soon broken, and falling back upon the regular troops, threw them also into disorder. The officers, most of whom had seen service, exerted themselves to rally and re-form the men, and they partially succeeded. The Indians were twice driven back at the point of the bayonet; but while they were pressed in one direction, their fire was poured in from every other with fatal effect; and and the whole army was soon thrown into confusion. A most disorderly retreat ensued. The Indians followed the flying troops for four miles, and then returned to plunder the camp. The army suffered most severely. Out of fourteen hundred men engaged, five hundred and thirty were killed and three hundred and sixty wounded. This battle was planned and commanded, on the part of the Indians by Meshecunnaqua, the Little Turtle, a celebrated Miami warrior, and Buckongehelas, head chief of the Delawares.

Young Harrison, as soon as he had received his commission of Ensign, hastened to join his regiment at Fort Washington, where he arrived shortly after the defeat of St. Clair's army. That defeat had been wholly unexpected, and produced the greatest consternation throughout the whole country. The defence of the frontier against the Indians, flushed with victory, and now more audacious than ever, devolved on a little handful of men. Winter was setting in; and the hardships to be anticipated by those stationed in these distant posts were so great, that Harrison, young, slender, and apparently of a feeble constitution,

was advised by his companions to resign his commission, and so escape a service for which his organization, and early habits seemed to render him unfit. This advice was at once rejected; and the energy, boldness, and capacity of the young officer were soon put to the test. The first duty confided to him, was the command of an escort having charge of a train of pack horses, bound to Fort Hamilton on the great Miami, some twenty or thirty miles north of Fort Washington. This duty was difficult and perilous, requiring great exposure, constant watchfulness, and more prudence and sagacity than is ordinarily to be expected from a youth of nineteen. However, the service was successfully performed, and in so able a manner, as to attract the attention, and elicit the applause of General St. Clair, the commander-in-chief.

At this time the vice of intemperance prevailed to a great extent among the officers of the army. The extreme hardships of the service, and their removal from all the comforts as well as the restraints of civilized life and domestic intercourse, led many promising officers to indulge in excesses, which proved ruinous to their character, and destructive to their health. Young Harrison had the good sense to see and avoid these dangers; and he now laid the foundation of those habits of temperance to which he ever after adhered, and which have enabled him to support the extreme fatigues of border warfare; and have given him a degree of health and vigor which few men of his age enjoy.

In 1792, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant. In 1793, he joined the new army under the command of General Wayne, which had been

raised for the purpose of prosecuting the war against the Indians. This war had now grown into great importance. The defeat of St. Clair had produced a general sensation; and it had become highly necessary that some decisive steps should be taken for bringing the struggle to a close. For this purpose General Washington had selected Wayne as St. Clair's successor,—an officer, who by his impetuous valor, had acquired durin the revolutionary war, the title of *Mad Anthony;* but whose discretion and sagacity were equal to his courage.

In May 1792, General Wayne having been furnished with instructions, in which it was emphatically declared "that another defeat would be inexpressibly ruinous to the reputation of the government," proceeded to Pittsburg for the purpose of organizing his army. By the laws which Congress had enacted on this occasion, an entirely new arrangement was to be made. The army was to consist of one Major General, four Brigadier Generals, and their respective staffs, the commissioned officers, and five thousand one hundred and twenty non-commissioned officers and privates, the whole to be called "the Legion of the United States." St. Clair's army having been almost wholly destroyed, the Legion, which never reached more than half the number of which it was intended to consist, had to be recruited almost wholly anew; after which the men were to be disciplined and instructed in their duty. This required time; and it was the 28th of November, before Wayne was able to move from Pittsburg. He descended the Ohio only about twentytwo miles, and then encamped for the winter. Being within striking distance of the enemy, the greatest

watchfulness was necessary to keep the army in a condition for action, and great efforts were required to teach the troops self-reliance, and to prepare them to face the foe. This position, which was called Legionville, was strongly fortified and every precaution was taken to guard against surprise.

In April, 1793, General Wayne broke up his encampment at Legionville, and conveyed his army in boats to Fort Washington, a post which occupied, as we have already mentioned, the present site of the city of Cincinnati. Here Lieutenant Harrison joined the Legion. His spirit, enterprise, and sagacity soon attracted the attention of General Wayne, who appointed him one of his aids-de-camp, in which laborious and difficult post he served throughout the war. The army of Wayne remained the whole summer in the vicinity of Washington, waiting for supplies and reinforcements, and preparing for the ensuing campaign. In the month of October, General Wayne took up a position about eighty miles from Fort Washington, on the western branch of the Miami, and near the head waters of that stream. This position was strongly fortified and called *Greenville*, and here the army encamped for the winter.

On the 23d of December, eight companies of infantry and a body of artillery were detached to take possession of the ground upon which St. Clair had been defeated. The bones of the slain were collected, and interred with military honors; and a strong post called Fort Recovery, was erected on the battle ground. In the general order issued by the Commander-in-chief *Lieutenant Harrison* is mentioned, as particularly entitled to commendation for his "voluntary aid and services" on this occasion.

The next summer Fort Recovery was warmly attacked by a large body of Indians. Though repulsed several times, they still renewed the assault, till finally they were obliged to retreat with great loss. About the middle of July, 1794, having been joined by a body of mounted militia from Kentucky, General Wayne pushed on seventy miles in advance of Greenville and established himself at Grand Glaise, in the very heart of the Indian territory. The British had lately erected a fort in this vicinity, probably with the design of encouraging and supporting the Indians;—for the difficulties and disputes between Great Britain and the United States had now reached such a point, that a war between the two countries seemed inevitable. In his despatches to the Secretary of War, General Wayne speaks of the country which he had now occupied, as the "grand emporium of the hostile Indians." "The very extensive and highly cultivated fields and gardens show," he observes, "the work of many hands. The margins of those beautiful rivers, the Miami of the lake,* and the Au Glaise, appear like one continued village for a number of miles above and below this place; nor have I ever before seen such immense fields of corn in any part of America, from Canada to Florida."

Having erected a strong work, to which he gave the name of Fort Defiance, at the confluence of the Maumee and the Au Glaise, the two rivers above described; and being now prepared to strike a final blow,—agreeably to his instructions, by which he was strictly commanded to settle the difficulties with the Indians by negotiation if possible,—he made the enemy a proposal of terms.

* Now more generally known as the *Maumee*.

This proposal was rejected, notwithstanding the advice of that celebrated warrior the Little Turtle, who had commanded at St. Clair's defeat, and who recommended its acceptance. "We have beaten the enemy twice," he said, "under separate commanders. We cannot expect the same good fortune always. The long knives are now led by a chief who never sleeps. The night and the day are alike to him. During all the time that he has been marching on our villages, notwithstanding the watchfulness of our young men, we have never been able to surprise him. Think well of it. There is something whispers me it would be prudent to listen to his offers of peace." This speech was delivered in a council of the Indians held the night before that battle, in which their forces were completely routed.

By this time the army had advanced into the immediate vicinity of the rapids of the Maumee, near which was the newly erected British fort, and where the main body of the Indian forces was assembled, under the command of *Blue Jacket*, a war chief of the Shawnees. On the morning of the 20th of August, General Wayne continued his march down the river, uncertain whether the Indians would decide for peace or war. After proceeding about five miles, the advanced corps received so severe a fire from the Indians secreted in the woods and grass as to compel them to retreat. The legion was immediately formed in two lines, the right resting on the river, and the left extending into a thick and close forest which formed the principal part of the battle field. For a considerable distance in front, the ground was covered with fallen timber uprooted probably in some tornado, amid which it was impossible for

cavalry to act, and which afforded the enemy a most favorable covert. The Indians were formed in three lines within supporting distance of each other, extending nearly two miles at right angles with the river.

The mounted volunteers under General Scott, were ordered to make a circuit and to gain the right flank of the enemy; while the troops of the first line, who were formed in open order, were commanded to advance with trailed arms, rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and as soon as they began to retreat, to pour in a close fire upon their backs, and to follow up with a brisk charge, so as to give them no opportunity of re-loading their rifles.

This idea of charging the Indians, and so bringing them at once to close quarters, was wholly new, and original, with General Wayne. It proved entirely successful; and has now become the established method of Indian warfare. The first line of the Legion advanced with such rapidity, driving the enemy before them, that the other corps of the army had little opportunity to take a part in the engagement. In the course of one hour theIndians were driven more than two miles through the thick woods above described. The Indians engaged were thought to exceed two thousand; while the infantry of the first line fell short of nine hundred. The enemy soon abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed in every direction. The contest terminated under the guns of the British fort. In his official account of the battle, General Wayne mentions with honor, his "faithful and gallant aid-de-camp, *Lieutenant Harrison*, as having rendered the most essential service by communicating orders in every direction, and by his con-

duct and bravery, exciting the troops to press for victory."

The army remained for three days on the banks of the Maumee, near the field of battle, during which time the houses and corn-fields, for a considerable distance above and below the British fort, were wasted and burnt — among the rest, the houses, stores, and other property of Col. M'Kee, the British Indian agent, who was regarded as the principal stimulator of the war. Of all this destruction inflicted on their friends, the British garrison were obliged to remain tacit spectators. The troops afterwards returned by easy marches to Grand Glaise, laying waste the villages and corn-fields of the Indians in every direction.

The spirit of the Indians was broken by the decisive victory obtained over them by General Wayne, and by the severe losses which they had suffered in consequence. The conduct also of the commander of the British fort, in declining to take any open part in their behalf, had disgusted many of the principal warriors. The celebrated chiefs, Little Turtle, and Buckongehelas, thenceforward renounced the British connection, and became the advocates of peace with the United States. On the first of January, 1795, the Indians commenced a negotiation with General Wayne ; and the news of his victory, which had reached London in November, is said to have had considerable effect in inducing the British government to accede to the propositions of Mr Jay, who was then employed in negotiating the celebrated treaty which bears his name,—among other provisions of which was included the surrender of the Western posts. The negotiation with the Indians was considerably protracted, but in August, 1795, a treaty of peace

was finally concluded at Greenville, by which the United States obtained the cession of considerable tracts of land, and secured quiet and security to the border settlements.

These events have been related with the more particularity, in order that the reader may have an opportunity to compare the conduct of General Harrison when subsequently acting as commander-in-chief, in the same regions, with that of those celebrated officers under whom he had previously served in a subaltern capacity. Such a comparison candidly made, will place his conduct and services in a highly favorable point of view.

Shortly after the close of the campaign, Lieutenant Harrison was promoted to the rank of captain, and was placed in command of Fort Washington, under circumstances, which show the confidence reposed by General Wayne, in his talents and discretion. At this period, certain agents of the French government were zealously employed in Kentucky in attempting to get up an invasion of Louisiana; and thus to embroil the United States with Spain, and force it into an alliance with France. This project was very alluring to the Kentuckians, who had long entertained the most violent hostility towards the Spaniards, on account of their refusing to the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi. The government at Washington felt great apprehensions, lest the Kentuckians might be inveigled into some acts of hostility against the Spanish government. General Wayne was trusted with the management of this affair; and among other precautions he placed Captain Harrison in command of Fort Washington, with extensive discretionary powers to be used as circumstances might require. Among

other things, he was instructed to keep General Wayne advised of all movements, and to prevent the passage down the river of boats laden with military stores, belonging to the French agents.

About this time the posts at the Northwest, which had been so long held back by the British, were at length surrendered to the United States, under Jay's treaty. The troops intended to occupy these posts, together with their provisions and warlike stores, were sent to Fort Washington, thence to be forwarded through the wilderness. Captain Harrison was charged with this whole service, which he discharged with a prudence, ability and intelligence, which justified the high confidence reposed in him by the Commander-in chief.

While in command of Fort Washington, Captain Harrison married a daughter of John Cleves Symmes, the celebrated founder of the Miami settlements, a lady in whom he has ever found a faithful and affectionate companion.

CHAPTER II.

Harrison resigns his commission in the Army.—Is appointed Secretary of the Northwestern Territory.—Is chosen Delegate to Congress.—His land bill.—Is appointed Governor of the Indiana Territory.—His jurisdiction and powers.—Indian relations.—Harrison's principles and method of Administration.

On the death of General Wayne, in 1797, Captain Harrison resigned his commission in the army, and received his first civil appointment, that of

Secretary of the Northwestern Territory, and *ex-officio*, Lieutenant Governor. General St. Clair still remained Governor of the Territory.

Mr Harrison's conduct as Secretary was so much approved, and so favorable was the impression made upon his fellow-citizens by his character and manners, that the next year, when the Northwestern Territory entered the second grade of Territorial Government, (according to the system which then prevailed,) and the inhabitants became entitled to elect a Delegate to Congress, he was chosen to fill that office. The opposing candidate was Arthur St. Clair, Jr., the son of the governor.

What recommended him in particular to the choice of his fellow citizens upon this occasion, was the stand he had taken, and the exertions he had made, against the system of disposing of the public lands which then prevailed ; a system highly detrimental to the interests of the new settlers, and which retarded the population, and checked the prosperity of the Territory. By the law as it then stood, the public lands could not be purchased in tracts of less than *four thousand* acres ; and as the minimum price was, at that time, two dollars per acre, it was utterly beyond the means of the vast majority of the new settlers to become possessors of land by an original purchase from the government. They were driven to the necessity of buying at second hand, and at great disadvantage.

The injustice and impolicy of this exclusive system had struck Mr Harrison very forcibly. His daily observation satisfied him that it was adverse to the interests both of the government and the settlers ; and the stand he had taken upon this

subject pointed him out to his fellow citizens as a proper person to represent them on the floor of Congress, and to bring this question, in which they were so deeply interested, to the notice of the National Legislature.

Nor did he disappoint the hopes and expectations of his constituents. Soon after he had taken his seat, he offered a resolution for the appointment of a committee with instructions to inquire into and report, on the existing mode of selling the public lands. He was himself appointed the chairman of that committee, the only instance, it is believed, in which that honor has been conferred upon a Territorial Delegate.

The committee, in due time, made a report, accompanied by a bill, providing that the public lands should be sold thereafter in alternate half and quarter sections; that is, in alternate tracts of 320 and 160 acres. This report, in the preparation of which Mr Harrison had been aided by Mr Gallatin, afterwards Secretary of the Treasury, produced a powerful sensation, and when it came up for consideration, led to a warm debate. The reasonableness, justice, propriety, and good sense, of the modification proposed by Mr Harrison, is now so obvious that it will be acknowledged by all; yet at that time it was most violently opposed by many able men and leading politicians. The report was zealously attacked by Mr Cooper of New York, and Mr Lee of Virginia; but it was ably defended by Mr Harrison, who exhibited in his speech a perfect acquaintance with the whole subject. He fully exposed the folly and injustice of the old system, and demonstrated that it could benefit nobody except the wealthy monopolist, or the adventurous land speculator; while the great

mass of the people by whom the country was to be settled, would be driven by this law to the necessity of purchasing at an advanced price, and at second hand; or what was more probable and more to be dreaded, would be reduced to the condition of a tenantry, dependant upon a few wealthy proprietors, instead of being themselves free-holders of the soil.

Mr Harrison's eloquence and arguments prevailed; and the bill was carried triumphantly through the House. But in the Senate, where the spirit of opposition to all popular ameliorations of the law, is always most powerful, a very strong opposition was made to it; and finally a committee of conference upon the subject was mutually appointed by the House and Senate. The conferrees on the part of the House, were Messrs Gallatin and Harrison; on the part of the Senate, Messrs Ross and Brown. The conference finally resulted in a compromise, according to which the public lands were to be thereafter sold in alternate whole and half sections; that is, in alternate tracts of 640 and 320 acres. This, though far from being all that Mr Harrison and his constituents could have desired, was a very great improvement upon the old system; and as about this time the tide of emigration began to flow pretty rapidly upon Ohio, the influence of this law upon the character and fortunes of her inhabitants must have been exceedingly great.

Another important bill was subsequently introduced into the House by Mr Harrison, providing for an improvement in the method of locating military land warrants, the mode then in operation being very objectionable in several particulars. This bill also became a law.

At this session a bill was passed for dividing the Northwestern Territory. By this division, what is now the State of Ohio was made a Territory by itself, and the remainder of the Northwestern Territory received the name of INDIANA, and was erected into a separate government. Mr Harrison served in Congress but one year, having been appointed, at the end of the session, Governor of the *Indiana Territory.*

This vast tract of country, including what now constitutes the states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and the territory of Wisconsin, contained at that time but three principal white settlements, separated from each other by extensive intervening forests. The first of these settlements, known as *Clark's grant*, was at the falls of the Ohio, nearly opposite Louisville, where is now the flourishing town of New Albany. The second was at Vincennes, on the Wabash, distant from the first more than a hundred miles. The third was the French settlement along the banks of the Mississippi, in the tract now known as the American Bottom, extending from Cahokia, nearly opposite St. Louis, some thirty or forty miles down the Mississippi, to Kaskaskia. This settlement was distant two hundred miles from Vincennes.

The country to the north of these settlements was in the possession of the Indian tribes above described, among whom the Miamies were the most powerful; and the intervening tracts served as a sort of common hunting ground to the Indians and the whites.

The only roads between the three different settlements were narrow beaten paths, without ferries or bridges. There were of course no houses of entertainment: but here and there, along the

road, some settler erected a *station*, consisting of a log house, surrounded by palisades. These *stations* afforded a resting place and an asylum to travellers through the wilderness.

The seat of government was *Vincennes*, a small village beautifully and advantageously situated on the Wabash. This town was originally built by the French, and the greater part of its inhabitants were of French origin. They were sufficiently well disposed to respect the new authority placed over them, but were entirely ignorant of the language and the laws of the United States, preferring those simple institutions under which they had long lived.

The population of the new Territory was very small; and the form of government established over it by the act of Congress regulating the Territory, was what was called the first grade of Territorial government; a system under which very extensive authority was placed in the hands of the governor. The governor, with the assistance of the judges, had the power of *adopting and publishing* such laws of the original states, civil and criminal, as might be necessary, and best suited to the circumstances of the Territory. He had the appointment of all magistrates and other civil officers, and all militia officers below the rank of general. He also possessed the sole power of dividing the Territory into counties and townships. Besides this, the governor was the agent and representative of the general government, and kept up a voluminous correspondence with the cabinet at Washington, in reference to the affairs of the Territory.

Another power of a very delicate character was confided to the Governor of Indiana: that name-

ly, of confirming grants of land to individuals having certain equitable claims. This power, so great, and so liable to be abused, was entrusted to the governor alone, without any check or limitation. No other officer was required to approve, to countersign, or even to record these grants. The application was made directly to the governor, and his sole signature vested a title. No formality or publicity was required; and whatever secret collusion there might have been between the claimant and the governor, the title would still have been unquestionable before any legal tribunal.

Such, however, was Governor Harrison's prudence, his scrupulous attention to the public interest, and his nice regard for his own honor, that none ever questioned or suspected his honest and just discharge of this delicate trust. Many men, under like circumstances, would have amassed splendid fortunes, by availing themselves of the facilities for speculation thus afforded; but neither at this, nor at any other time did Governor Harrison, either directly or indirectly, make any use for his own advantage, of any knowledge of land titles, gained in his official capacity; nor has he ever owned a single acre of land, held under a title emanating from himself, as the agent and representative of the general government.

The governor of Indiana was *ex-officio* Superintendent of Indian affairs, in addition to which he was appointed sole Commissioner for treating with the Indians,—an appointment which carried with it a vast deal of trouble and labor. Soon after entering upon the government of the Indiana Territory, Governor Harrison opened a communication with the Indian tribes, and was visited by most of

the principal chiefs in the vicinity of Vincennes. The Indians made very heavy complaints of the conduct of the whites. They alleged that their people had been killed, their lands settled upon, their game destroyed, their young men made drunk, and then cheated of their furs, upon which they depended to procure blankets, ammunition, and other necessaries.

The governor was well satisfied that the greater part of these allegations were true. The Kentucky settlers on the Ohio were in the constant habit of coming over into the Indian territory, and destroying the game. Numerous murders, some of them of a very aggravated character, had been perpetrated on the Indians. By the treaty of Greenville, murderers were to be delivered up, or punished, on both sides. This part of the treaty, the Indians had faithfully performed. In the case of several atrocious murders committed by the whites, the governor made every possible exertion to bring the culprits to justice; but without success. They were either acquitted by the juries in the face of the plainest proofs, or else rescued from prison, and enabled to escape. The frontier settlers, in fact, considered the Indians to be as fair game as the wild animals of the forest. They did not regard the murder of an Indian as a crime. "All these injuries," says Governor Harrison in a letter to the Secretary of War, under date of the 15th of July, 1801, "the Indians have hitherto borne with astonishing patience. But though they discover no disposition to make war upon the United States at present, I am confident that most of the tribes would eagerly seize any favorable opportunity for that purpose. And should the United States be at war with any of the European nations,

who are known to the Indians, there would probably be a combination of more than nine tenths of the northern tribes against us, unless some means are made use of to conciliate them." The war with Great Britain fully verified all these anticipations.

The governor was constantly engaged in attempts to put the affairs with the Indians on a better footing. Mr Jefferson, then President of the United States, procured the passage by Congress of several laws designed to secure the rights, and better the condition of the Indians. The sale of whiskey was prohibited; and trading houses were established among them, by the government, for the purpose of supplying them with goods at cost, and protecting them against the frauds of the traders. Efforts were also made to induce them to apply themselves to the cultivation of the land. But all these philanthropic attempts were counteracted and defeated by the arts and intrigues of interested persons, who stirred up the prejudices of the Indians against things solely intended for their benefit; and who, while they lived by the plunder of these unhappy savages, had the cunning to assume the character of their best friends. The British and the American traders alike combined to poison the minds of the Indians against the government; and the reckless insults and abuse heaped upon them by the American settlers, afforded great color to the suggestions of the traders, that the pretended philanthropy of the American government, was merely a hypocritical disguise, under which were concealed the most hostile intentions, and diabolical designs.

In the year 1804, the governor succeeded in negotiating a treaty with the Sacs and Foxes, tribes

which had not been included in the treaty of Greenville. By this treaty, in addition to the peaceful relations established with these tribes, there was obtained the cession of an extensive and valuable tract of country, stretching along the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Illinois, to the mouth of the Wisconsin, including the whole region between the river Illinois and the Mississippi, with a northern boundary, extending from the head of Fox river, to a point on the Wisconsin, thirty six miles above its mouth. This was the largest tract of land which had ever yet been ceded by the Indians in one body.

Some considerable cessions of land were also obtained from the Delawares and Piankishaws, by which a communication was opened between the different settlements of the Territory. All that tract between the Ohio and the Wabash, as far north as the road from Louisville to Vincennes, was obtained by one treaty, and by a subsequent treaty, the Piankishaws ceded a tract extending from Vincennes westward to the settlements on the Mississippi. This tribe, which had been originally a branch of the Miamies, was now very much reduced in numbers, and the lands ceded, by the destruction of the game, had ceased to be of any use to them. For these cessions the Indians were compensated by certain annuities, most of which still continue to be paid.

Shortly after the purchase of Louisiana, that country was annexed to the government of the Indiana Territory, and so continued for some time. This annexation gave to the jurisdiction of Governor Harrison a vast extent, and increased the laborious duties of his station.

In 1805, the Territory of Indiana was raised to

the second rank of Territorial government, being allowed a Territorial House of Assembly, elected by the citizens, and a Delegate to Congress. To complete the Territorial Legislature, a Legislative Council of five members was added, to be appointed by the president out of twice that number nominated by the Territorial Assembly. Although the power of the governor was considerably abridged by this change, yet always partial to the rights of the people, he had exerted himself to bring it about, by which he gained the ill will of several leading citizens of the Territory, who regarded the probable increase of expense and taxes as a decisive argument against the change.

The address of the governor at the first meeting of the Territorial Legislature, is a document interesting in itself, and an excellent specimen of that superior clearness and fluency of style in which all the state papers of General Harrison are written. We regret that our limits do not enable us to lay it before the reader.

The reply of the Territorial Assembly clearly shows the high estimation in which the governor was held; and is one among many proofs of that remarkable popularity with which his administration was always attended. In this respect we may observe a striking difference between General Harrison and most of our other Territorial governors. The powers vested in these governors, especially according to the system which prevailed in Governor Harrison's time, are so extensive, and their authority is so nearly absolute, that in general, they have found it next to impossible to preserve any degree of popularity. The settlers, generally from the older states, where they have been accustomed to a participation in political af-

fairs, are apt to grow impatient at being governed by a man in whose appointment they have had no agency; and though a governor may give no just cause of complaint, a jealousy of his intentions, and a repugnance to his authority, will naturally spring up, unless the greatest caution and good judgment on his part be used to prevent it. The conduct of Governor Harrison seems never to have excited any such hostile feelings in the hearts of those over whom he exercised the functions of government. He appears to have possessed an unusual faculty of conciliating, not only the respect, but the warm affections of those placed under his authority. This was owing not more to the suavity of his manners, and the evident goodness of his heart, than to the disinterestedness, the moderation, and the wisdom with which he exercised the extensive powers entrusted to him. In the appointment of all public officers, judges only excepted, he appealed to the people; and uniformly selected those who appeared to enjoy the confidence of their fellow-citizens. He acted upon this principle even to the sacrifice of private friendship and political feeling—having more than once appointed to office, persons who were opposed to him in sentiment, both with regard to men and to measures. He also refused to accept any of those fees, whether as governor or superintendent of Indian affairs, which before his time had been customarily paid. The patronage of his office was thus rendered worthless, and its emoluments were much diminished: but he secured what he esteemed of more value—the confidence and affections of the people.

The method which Governor Harrison pursued in keeping his accounts with the general govern-

ment, was as simple as it was correct; and in some particulars might be advantageously imitated by the disbursing officers of the present day. He never kept on hand any amount of public money. When money was to be paid on the public account, he gave the person entitled to payment, a draft on the War Department. A copy of the draft, and a receipt for the payment made, were always forwarded to Washington in the same letter. These drafts on the War Department were always in demand, and were readily cashed by persons having remittances to make to the eastern cities. In this way the department was saved the risk and expense of transmitting money to the West; all long and complicated accounts, whether with the government, or with individuals, were avoided; as well as all the temptations and embarrassments attendent upon the receipts and disbursement of large sums of public money.

CHAPTER III.

Tecumthe and the Prophet—The Prophet's interview with Harrison—Treaty of Fort Wayne—Dissatisfaction of Tecumthe and the Prophet—Tecumthe's visit to Vincennes—Extract from a message of Governor Harrison to the Legislature of Indiana.

During the year 1806, some very remarkable influences began to develop themselves among the Indian tribes Northwest of the Ohio; by which all the plans of the General Government for civilizing and conciliating those tribes, were dis-

turbed and broken up; and by means of which the Indians were eventually involved in a war with the United States, which resulted in the ruin of many tribes, and their final expulsion from their homes and hunting grounds.

Two twin brothers of the Shawnese tribe: *Tecumthe*, The Couching Panther, and *Olliwachica*, The Open Door, or as others interpret it, The Loud Voice, better known as the *Prophet*, seem to have formed a plan for a general union of all the Indian tribes, for the purpose of preventing any further encroachments by the whites, and for recovering a portion of the lands already lost. These two brothers, possessed between them, all the qualities and accomplishments necessary to give them influence with the race to which they belonged. Tecumthe was a celebrated warrior; but not less distinguished in the council than in the field. He was a daring, sagacious, active, unscrupulous man, who stopped at nothing in the accomplishment of his purposes, but who preferred tact, management and negotiation to force. He was inspired with high enthusiasm, and with a deep hatred toward the whites, imbibed probably with his mother's milk.

The Prophet is said not to have been a warrior; but he was an orator even more accomplished and persuasive than his brother; and what was of far greater importance towards the accomplishment of their mutual object, he was a *medicine man*, or magician of the highest pretensions, holding constant intercourse with the Great Spirit, and claiming a vast and miraculous power over the operations of nature.

Ignorance and superstition are always twin sisters; and accordingly we find that all savage na-

tions are at once the slaves and the dupes of the most extravagant credulity, on the one hand, and the most impudent impostures on the other. Having made but few observations upon that regular and uninterrupted course in which the operations of nature proceed, they are constantly ready to ascribe to accidental, supernatural influences, that which takes place according to fixed and regular laws; and with that self-conceit and self-importance which is so conspicuously displayed in almost all systems of human opinion and belief, they readily adopt the idea, that some favored individuals may not only obtain a certain extraordinary power over the operations of nature, but may even establish a sort of influence and control over those very supernatural beings, who are the great objects of their reverence and awe.

These wild opinions exercise a powerful influence even among the most sagacious of the savage warriors,—a circumstance at which we cannot be much surprised, when we consider the extent to which similar superstitions prevail, even among the most civilized nations. This credulity is taken advantage of by a set of persons among the Indian tribes called *medicine men*, who are in general, to a considerable extent, the dupes of their own impostures, though they do not scruple, when occasion presents itself, to practise the most barefaced deceptions upon others who are still greater dupes than themselves.

Such was Olliwachica, the Prophet. The pretensions, however, which he set up, were far more lofty than those advanced by the generality of his profession. He announced himself as having been specially sent by the Great Spirit to reform the manners of the red people, and to revive all those

old customs which had been discontinued by the too common and frequent intercourse of the Indians with the whites. All the innovations in dress and manners which had thus been brought about, were abolished; and they were promised the return of all the happiness and prosperity which their forefathers had enjoyed, and of which they had heard their old men so often speak, provided they would implicitly obey the will, and follow the advice of the prophet. He pretended to foretell future events; declared that he was invulnerable to the arms or shot of his enemies; and promised the same inviolability to those of his followers who would devote themselves entirely to his service.

By these lofty pretensions, the prophet soon succeeded in securing the reverence and admiration of many, not only in his own, but in several of the neighboring tribes; and he presently established himself at Greenville, on the borders of Indiana and Ohio, upon lands already ceded to the United States, where great numbers resorted to him to hear his preaching, listen to his revelations, and witness his incantations and miracles. In the mean time, Tecumthe was employed in travelling among all the tribes of the Northwest, spreading every where his brother's fame, and magnifying his supernatural power. It thus came about that the reputation of the prophet was generally greater at a distance, than in his own immediate vicinity. It often happened that his followers, engaged in religious exercises, and relying upon the supposed supernatural power of the prophet, neglected to provide the necessary means for their own subsistence, in consequence of which they sometimes approached the very verge of starvation. Dispirited and disappointed, the less persevering among

them would feel their faith shaken, quit the prophet and return home. At these very times, reports would be prevailing at a distance, of abundance and luxury supernaturally existing in the prophet's camp. It was alleged and firmly believed, that he caused pumpkins to spring out of the ground as large as a house, and that he had the power of causing corn to grow up suddenly and spontaneously, of so remarkable a size, that one ear would suffice to feed a dozen men. These wonderful stories, which found a ready belief among the superstitious and idle, were propagated in every direction by the indefatigable exertions of Tecumthe; and numerous devotees from the most distant tribes were continually flocking towards the prophet, and making good the places of those, whom disappointment, disbelief, or the love of change induced to quit him.

Tecumthe and his brother applied their most earnest efforts to bring over to their party, the chiefs of their own tribe, of the Delawares, and the Miamies. In this effort they had, on the whole, but little success. These chiefs did not feel inclined to surrender up all their authority and influence into the hands of two adventurers who claimed an authority from the Great Spirit, to control every thing. They openly accused them of imposture, and endeavored to open the eyes of those Indians, whom a belief in the supernatural powers of the prophet had attracted from a distance. Undismayed by this opposition, the two brothers applied themselves to undermine the authority and influence of the chiefs, by accusing them of having betrayed their trust, of having sold their tribes to the white men, and of having caused all the calamities of the Indians by those cessions of land to which they had consented.

With the Delaware tribe they went still further, and resorted to the most extraordinary method of ridding themselves of the opposing chiefs. They preferred against these chiefs the charge of witchcraft, an indefinite but terrible offence, which the Indians contemplate with such horror and alarm, that the mere accusation generally passes with them as a sufficient proof of guilt. Having wrought up the tribe to a high pitch of fanatical fury, the Shawnese intriguers succeeded in procuring the execution of Teteboxti, a venerable warrior, eighty years of age, and of one other of the obnoxious chiefs; nor is it at all certain to what extreme lengths they might have gone, had not their proceedings been interrupted by the arrival of a special messenger, bearing a strong remonstrance against the murder of their chiefs, addressed by Governor Harrison to the Delaware tribe. This remonstrance put a stop to further executions.

The operations of the prophet and his brother were continued, however, with the greatest perseverance and assiduity. The prophet appointed occasional seasons of prayer and exhortation, which were continued for many days in succession. Previous notice being given of the time at which they were to be held, the Indians of the most distant tribes flocked to hear them, frequently to the neglect of their corn-fields and other means of subsistence, so that the agents of the United States were obliged to supply them with provisions to preserve them from starvation. During these seasons, the devotees of the prophet seemed wholly possessed with a sort of religious phrenzy; but their religious exercises were always succeeded or intermixed with warlike sports, such as shooting with bows, throwing the tomahawk,

and wielding the war-club. This combination of religious and warlike exercises, and especially this revival of the use of weapons of their own manufacture, plainly intimated the ultimate intentions of the prophet.

The two brothers, with all their efforts, were not able to obtain a preponderating influence with the Delawares and Miamies, among whom they were well known. But their influence with the more distant tribes, the Ottawas, Chippewas, Potowatomies, Kickapoos and Winnebagos was very great; and in the summer of 1808, the prophet removed his encampment to a spot on the banks of the Tippecanoe, a tributary of the Upper Wabash,—a place since known as *The Prophet's town*,—with the design perhaps of being nearer to those tribes over whom he possessed the greatest influence. This purpose he effected in spite of the opposition of the Delawares and Miamies, to whom the land belonged, and who were very anxious to prevent his settlement upon it.

About this time our relations with Great Britain assumed a very hostile aspect, and war seemed to be impending. The British Indian agents, and traders in Canada, anxious as it was supposed, to strengthen themselves by alliances with the Indians, had opened, as was generally believed, a communication with the prophet, and through him with all the Indian tribes. This circumstance caused the influence of the prophet to be regarded as the more formidable, and his operations to be watched with a more jealous eye.

The prophet, conscious of the suspicions which were entertained of his designs, and not yet ready to break with the Americans, resolved to practise a bold deception, and by the most positive

protestations of his pacific intentions, to deceive if possible the vigilance of Governor Harrison. With this design, soon after his establishment at Tippecanoe, he sent a message to Vincennes, in which he complained bitterly of the misrepresentations of his views and designs which were circulated in the settlements, and promised shortly to visit the governor in person. In the month of August he made his appearance accordingly, and remained with the governor about two weeks.

Shortly after his arrival, the prophet delivered to the governor the following speech :

" Father, It is three years since I first began with that system of religion which I now practise. The white people and some of the Indians were against me ; but I had no intention except to introduce among the Indians those good principles of religion which the white people profess. I was spoken badly of by the white people, who reproached me with misleading the Indians ; but I defy them to say that I did any thing amiss.

" Father, I was told that you intended to hang me. When I heard this, I resolved to remember it, and to tell my Father, when I went to see him, the whole truth.

" I also heard that you, my Father, wanted to know whether I was God or man, and that you had said, if I was the former, I should not steal horses. This I heard but I did not believe it.

" The Great Spirit told me to tell the Indians that he had made them and the world, and that he had placed them in it to do good and not evil.

" I told all the Indians that the way they were in was not good, and that they ought to abandon it : that we ought to live agreeably to our several customs, the red people after their mode, and the white people after theirs ; particularly that they should not drink whiskey, which was not made for them, but for the white people, who alone knew how to use it ;

and that it is the cause of all the mischiefs which the Indians suffer. I bade them follow the directions of the Great Spirit, as it was he who made us. I told them to listen to nothing that is bad. I said to them—Do not take up the tomahawk should it be offered by the British, or by the Long Knives. Do not meddle with anything that does not belong to you, but mind your own business and cultivate the ground, that your women and children may have enough to live upon.

"I now inform you that it is our intention to live in peace with our father and his people forever.

"My Father, I have informed you what we mean to do, and I call the Great Spirit to witness the truth of my declaration. The religion which I have established has been received by all the different tribes of Indians in this part of the world. They were once a divided people; they are now one; and they are all determined to practise what I have received from the Great Spirit and declared to them.

"Brother, I speak to you as a warrior. You are one. But let us lay aside this character, and attend to the care of our children, that they may live in comfort and peace. We desire you to unite with us for the preservation of both the red and the white man. Formerly, when we lived in ignorance we were foolish, but now since we listen to the voice of the Great Spirit, we are happy.

"I have listened to what you have said to us. You have promised to assist us. I now request you in behalf of the red people, to use your exertions to prevent the sale of liquor to us. We are all well pleased to hear you say that you will endeavor to promote our happiness. We give you every assurance that we will follow the dictates of the Great Spirit."

This speech so characteristic of the person by whom it was delivered, but at the same time so well calculated to obtain confidence, was followed up by a corresponding course of conduct. The

prophet, often in the presence of the governor, harangued his followers; and his constant topics were, the evils of war, and of whiskey-drinking. That upon this latter subject, the prophet had obtained a complete mastery over the passions and appetites of his disciples, was apparent from the fact, that by no persuasion could they be prevailed upon, under any circumstances, to touch a drop of that liquor, which formerly was one of their greatest objects of desire.

On the whole the governor was rather favorably impressed by this visit of the prophet; and was induced to regard him as a person disposed to use the vast influence which he had obtained over the Indians, for good purposes; and capable of being employed as an instrument, for checking their most dangerous vices, and promoting their civilization.

Soon after the return of the prophet to his town, notwithstanding all the pacific protestations he had made, reports of his intention to attack the white settlements prevailed extensively, both in those settlements themselves, and among the Indian tribes; and the number of warriors which he often had at his town, and under his control, was a constant source of apprehension and alarm. The prophet's town also soon became the refuge of all those Indians, to whatever tribe they migh belong, who had committed depredations of ant kind upon the whites; and though in reply to thy messages that were sent to him, the prophet always returned very civil and peaceable answers, it was impossible to obtain from him the surrender of any of the depredators.

Governor Harrison had long considered it a very desirable object, to obtain the cession of that tract of land which intervened between the settlements

about Vincennes, and the cession which had been made at the treaty of Greenville. Considering this to be a favorable time to effect that object, he obtained the necessary authority from the War Department; and in a council held at Fort Wayne in September, 1809, he succeeded in gaining the assent to the cession of the Miamies, the Delawares, the Potowatomies, and the Kickapoos,—the only tribes who had the slightest claim of title to the land. The consideration for the cession consisted in certain annuities which the tribes concerned regarded as a satisfactory equivalent.

This purchase, however, was soon made a great matter of complaint by the prophet and his brother. They set up the doctrine, that the Indian lands belonged in common, to all the tribes; and that for a cession to be binding, all the tribes must join in it. On this ground they denounced the treaty of Fort Wayne as invalid; and threatened to kill all the chiefs who had been concerned in making it. They assumed every day a more hostile attitude; and though they still professed the most pacific intentions, there was every reason to believe that they were only waiting for a favorable opportunity to commence hostilities. Their influence was considerably increased about this time by their success in gaining over the *Hurons* or *Wyandots* to their party. This was a small tribe, but though few in number, they possessed great influence in the Indian councils. The other tribes called them *Unkles*, and venerated them for their superior talents and valor. To their custody was committed the *great belt*, which had been the symbol of union between the tribes during their war with the United States, and also the original duplicate of the treaty of Greenville, by which that

war had been concluded. The prophet, conscious of the great advantage which he should derive from the adhesion of the Wyandots, sent them a deputation, expressing his surprise that a nation which had directed the councils of so many other tribes, and had always taken so leading a part in all wars and negotiations with the whites, should sit still, and allow two or three tribes to cede away lands which belonged to all the Indians in common. He requested also to see the treaties in their possession; being anxious to know what they actually contained.

The Wyandots replied, that they had carefully preserved the belt which formerly united all the tribes as one nation; but it had remained so long in their hands, without any inquiry being made about it, that they had supposed it was forgotten. They were glad however that at length it was called for. For themselves, they were tired of their present situation; they wished with all their heart, to see all the tribes united again as one man. Everything done since the treaty of Greenville, they looked upon as good for nothing; and they were ready to join with the prophet in bringing the tribes together, and uniting them so as to put a stop to the encroachments of the white people, and to attempt the recovery of what had been unjustly taken from them. They had been pushed back until they could go back no further; and they might as well die where they were, as be driven among those distant and hostile tribes who would probably kill them.

This answer of the Wyandots, the prophet immediately circulated in every direction, and it produced a strong impression in his favor. Even some of the Miami chiefs were so intimidated by

the reproaches of the Wyandots, who passed through their village, on their way to the prophet, as to consent to attend a general meeting at the prophet's town.

The influence which this person acquired, and the readiness with which his views were adopted by the Indians was but natural. At this time the Indians of the Northwest—especially those tribes nearest to the white settlements, — were in a wretched condition. The game which formerly was so abundant, was now so scarce, in many parts of the country, as hardly to afford subsistence to the most active hunters; and a large part of each tribe was often in a state of starvation. Even the European war was felt in its consequences by these Indians, and tended to aggravate their sufferings. The commercial exclusion of the English from the continent,—where the greater part of the American furs had usually been disposed of,—had so reduced the price of those articles, that the Indians could hardly procure with the produce of their year's hunt, the necessary ammunition for the next year. Whiskey, which in spite of all attempts to prevent it, was sold profusely among them, produced its usual ravages; and the conciliatory efforts and benevolent intentions of the general government were constantly neutralized by the conduct of the settlers, most of whom were inspired with a bitter hatred and detestation of the Indians, and a total disregard of their feelings and rights. It is true that a war with the United States was more likely to aggravate than to remedy all these evils,—a consideration which had great weight with a portion of the Indians, and which operated to restrain them from hostilities; but a consideration which was

little regarded by the more fanatical followers of the prophet, who placed implicit confidence in the prophecies of their leader, and who fondly relied upon the effect of his supernatural intimacy with the Great Spirit.

Governor Harrison, however, was for a long time incredulous as to the actual danger of a war; though the reports of hostile intentions which came in from every quarter, induced him to make such preparations as were in his power, to guard against its effects. He did not doubt that war had been thought of and talked about; but he supposed that the fears and the prudence of the Indians, would prevail over their inclination for hostilities. To ascertain, if possible, the real intentions of the prophet, he sent several messengers to his town; and finally invited him and his brother to make a visit to Vincennes.

Tecumthe came accordingly; and though the governor, who had no great confidence in his good faith, had particularly requested him not to bring above thirty attendants, he brought with him four hundred warriors completely armed. About forty of these warriors were present at the Council holden on the 12th of August. The governor was attended by the Judges of the Supreme Court, several officers of the army, Winnemack, a friendly chief of the Potowatomies, and a considerable number of unarmed citizens. A guard consisting of a serjeant and twelve men, were placed near the governor; but as in that position they were exposed to the sun, he sent them to a shade at some distance.

Tecumthe opened the Council by a speech, in which the designs of himself and his brother were fully avowed. He declared that it was their ob-

ject to form a combination of all the tribes, for the purpose of putting a stop to further encroachments on the part of the whites, and to establish it as a principle that lands were to be considered the common property of all the tribes, never to be sold without the consent of all. He avowed the intention of putting to death all those chiefs who had been concerned in any of the late treaties. But still, with a strange inconsistency, he persisted in the assertion, that he and his brother had no intention of making war; and declared that they who had given this information to the governor were liars. This was particularly aimed at Winnemack, who had often communicated to the governor the designs of the prophet, and who was now overwhelmed with such a torrent of threats and abuse by Tecumthe, that he secretly charged a pistol which he had in his hand, and stood ready to defend his life.

In reply, the governor ridiculed the assertion of Tecumthe that the Great Spirit had intended the Indians to be one people,—for if so, why had he put different tongues into their heads, instead of giving them one language which all might understand? As to the land in dispute, it had been bought of the Miamies, who owned it at a time when the Shawnese lived in Georgia. They had seen fit to sell it; and what business had the Shawnese to come from a distant country and undertake to control them in the disposal of their own property? Here the governor stopped to give the interpreters an opportunity to explain to the Indians what he had said. The interpreter to the Shawnese had concluded, and the interpreter to the Potawatomies was just about to begin, when Tecumthe rose, interrupted the interpreter, and com-

menced speaking in a very violent manner, and with the most vehement gesticulations, declaring that all the governor had said was false, and that he and the United States had cheated and imposed upon the Indians. He had spoken but a few words when his warriors seized their arms, sprung upon their feet, and began to brandish their tomahawks and war-clubs, their eyes all fixed upon the governor, who immediately rose from the arm-chair in which he was sitting, and drew a sword which he had by his side. The Chief Winnemack cocked his pistol; some of the officers drew their weapons: and the unarmed citizens caught up brickbats and other missiles, and stood upon the defensive. During this singular scene, no one spoke, till the guard came running up and were about to fire, when the governor ordered them to stop. He then demanded from the interpreter an explanation of what had happened, and received from him an account of what Tecumthe had said. Turning then to Tecumthe, the governor told him that he was a bad man, and that he would hold no further communication with him. As he had come under the protection of the council-fire, he might depart in safety, but he must instantly leave the neighborhood. Thereupon the Council was immediately broken up, and Tecumthe retired to his camp.

That night the militia of Vincennes were all under arms in expectation of an attack, but none was made. Tecumthe, finding that he had to do with a man of firmness and sagacity, who could not be disconcerted by his insolence, nor intimidated by his violence, professed the next morning, the greatest regret for the improprieties into which he had been betrayed the day before, and requested

a second interview with the governor. The behaviour of Tecumthe at this second interview, was very different from what it had been the day before. His deportment was dignified and collected, and he showed not the least disposition to be insolent. He denied any intention of attacking the governor, but said he had been advised by white people to take the course he had adopted. They had told him, that half the whites were opposed to the purchase; and if he made a vigorous resistance to the execution of the treaty of Fort Wayne, the governor would soon be recalled and a good man put in his place, who would give up the land. Being asked by the governor if he intended to prevent the survey of the new purchase, he replied, that he and his friends were determined to adhere to the old boundary.

After Tecumthe had finished, a Wyandot, a Potowatomie, an Ottawa, a Kickapoo, and a Winebago, severally spoke. They declared that their tribes had entered into the Shawnese confederacy, and that they would support the principles laid down by Tecumthe, whom they had appointed their leader. In conclusion the governor informed the Indians, that he would lay before the President, a statement of their pretensions to the land in dispute; but that he was well satisfied that the President never would admit that they had any thing to do with the sale by the Miamies, of lands possessed and occupied by them, ever since the country had been known to white men; and that the title of the United States to the land in question, would be sustained, if need were, by force.

Very anxious to discover the real sentiments and intentions of Tecumthe, the governor afterwards, attended only by an interpreter, paid him a visit t

his camp. He was very politely received, and conversed a long time with the chief. Being questioned on that point, Tecumthe declared that his intentions were really such as he had avowed in the Council. He was very loath, he said, to go to war with the United States, and if they would give up the land in dispute, and agree never to make another treaty without the consent of all the tribes, he would be their ally, and assist them in their wars with the British. He said he knew well that the British were urging the Indians to make war upon the Americans, not out of any regard they had for the welfare of the Indians, but merely for purposes of their own. Nevertheless, if the United States would not comply with his terms, he should be obliged to unite with the English.

The governor told him that he would inform the President of his views; but added, that there was not the least probability of his terms being acceded to. "Well," said Tecumthe, "as your great chief is to determine this matter, I hope the Great Spirit will put sense enough into his head, to make him give up the land. It is true, he is so far off he will not be injured by the war. He may sit in his town and drink his wine, whilst you and I will have to fight it out."

The following statement of the facts of the controversy with the prophet and Tecumthe, growing out of the treaty of Fort Wayne, is extracted from the message of Governor Harrison to the territorial Legislature of Indiana at its session during the winter of 1810. It contains so clear and distinct a view of the whole dispute, as to deserve an insertion in this place.

"Presenting as we do, a very extended frontier to numerous and warlike tribes of the aborigines, the state

of our relations with them must always form an important and interesting feature in our local politics. It is with regret that I have to inform you that the harmony and good understanding, which it is so much our interest to cultivate with these our neighbors, have, for some time past, experienced a considerable interruption, and that we have been threatened with hostilities by a combination, formed under the auspices of a bold adventurer, who pretends to act under the immediate inspiration of the Deity. His character as a prophet would not, however, have given him any very dangerous influence, if he had not been assisted by the intrigues and advice of foreign agents, and other disaffected persons, who have for many years omitted no opportunity of counteracting the measures of government with regard to the Indians, and filling their naturally jealous minds with suspicion of the justice and integrity of our views towards them. The circumstance laid hold of to encourage disaffection on the late occasion was, the treaty made by me at Fort Wayne in the autumn of last year. Among the difficulties to be encountered in obtaining those extinguishments of title which have proved so beneficial to the treasury of the United States, and so necessary as the means of increasing the population of the Territory, the most formidable was, that of ascertaining the tribes to be admitted as parties to the cession. The subject was accordingly discussed in a long correspondence between the government and myself; and the principles finally adopted were made as liberal towards the Indians, as a due regard to the interests of the United States would admit. Of the tribes which had formed the confederacy in the war, which was terminated by the peace of Greenville, some were resident upon lands which had been in possession of their forefathers at the time the first settlements were made in America by white people; whilst others, emigrants from distant parts of the country, had no other claim to the tracts they occupied, than what a few years' residence, by the tacit consent of the real owners, could give. Upon common and general

principles, a transfer of the title of the former description, would have been sufficient to vest in the purchaser, the legal right to lands so situated. But in all its transactions with the Indians, our government have not been content with doing that which was just only. Its savage neighbors have, on all occasions, experienced its liberality and benevolence. Upon this principle, in several of the treaties which have been made, several tribes have been admitted to a participation of their benefits, who had no title to the lands ceded, merely because they have been accustomed to hunt upon, and derive part of their support from them. For this reason, and to prevent the *Miamies*, who were the real owners of the land, from experiencing any ill effects from their resentment, in case they were excluded, the *Delawares*, *Potowatomies*, and *Kickapoos* were made parties to the late treaty of Fort Wayne. No other tribe was admitted, because it had never been suggested that any other could plead even the title of use and occupancy of the lands, which at that time were conveyed to the United States. It was not until eight months after the conclusion of the treaty, and after his design of forming a hostile combination against the United States, had been discovered and defeated, that the pretensions of the prophet, with regard to the lands in question were made known. A furious clamor was then raised by the foreign agents among us, and other disaffected persons, against the policy which had excluded from the treaty this great and influential character as he was termed ; and the doing so was expressly attributed to personal ill will on the part of the negociator. No such ill will did, in fact, exist. I accuse myself indeed of an error, in the patronage and support which I afforded him, upon his first arrival on the Wabash, before his hostility to the United States had been developed ; but upon no principle of propriety or policy could he have been made a party to the treaty. The personage called the prophet, is not a chief of the tribe to which he belongs, but an outcast from it, rejected and hated by the real chiefs,

the principal of whom was present at the treaty, and not only disclaimed upon the part of his tribe, any title to the lands ceded, but used his personal influence with the chiefs of the other tribes, to effect the cession. As soon as I was informed that his dissatisfaction at the treaty was assigned as the cause of the hostile attitude which the prophet had assumed, I sent to inform him, that whatever claims he might have to the lands which had been purchased by the United States, were not in the least affected by that purchase; that he might come forward and exhibit his pretensions, and if they were really found to be just or equitable, the lands would be restored, or an ample equivalent given for them. His brother was deputized and sent to me for that purpose; but far from being able to show any color of claim, either for himself or any of his followers, his objections to the treaty were confined to the assertion, that all the land upon the continent was the common property of all the tribes, and that no sale of any part of it would be valid, without the consent of all. A proposition so extremely absurd, and which would forever prevent any further purchase of lands by the United States, could receive no countenance from any friend to his country. He had, however, the insolence to declare, that by the acknowledgment of that principle alone could the effects of his resentment be avoided. No person who is in the least acquainted with the history of Indian affairs upon our northwestern frontier for some years past, can be at any loss for the source of all this mischief, or will hesitate to believe that the prophet is a tool of British fears or British avarice, employed for the purpose of forming a combination among the Indians, which in case of war between that power and the United States, may assist them in the defence of Canada; or at all events may be employed as a means of keeping back our settlements, and by rendering us suspected and hated by the natives, secure themselves a continuance of the valuable fur trade, which they have so long engrossed."

CHAPTER IV.

Prosecution for Slander—Aggressions of the Prophet—March to Tippecanoe—Battle of Tippecanoe.

However acceptable to the people of the Territory, was the conduct of the governor, both in reference to its internal affairs, and to Indian relations, there was, as always happens in such cases, a small but extremely active party, diligently employed in counteracting or embarrassing all his measures. To the conduct and complaints of these persons, there are several allusions in the extract above given from the governor's message. In the territory, where the character and motives of his traducers were known, the reports which they might put in circulation could do little mischief. But as these calumnies began to be repeated in distant parts of the country, and even found their way into the halls of Congress, governor Harrison considered it due, both to his own character and to that of the general government, to bring the matter to the test, and to procure an examination of his conduct in relation to the treaty of Fort Wayne, while the subject was still fresh, and the proofs within reach. Believing an investigation by a court of justice to be the most effectual within his power, he commenced an action for slander in the Supreme Court of the territory, against one M'Intosh, a Scotchman, of large property at Vincennes, who had long been hostile to him, and indeed was believed not to be very warmly attached to the government of the United States. This person had asserted that the governor had cheated the Indians in the treaty at Fort

Wayne; and for this slander the action was brought. Every means was taken to ensure an impartial trial. Of the three judges, one left the bench because he was the personal friend of the governor, and another because he was the personal friend of the defendant; and the trial was solely conducted by the third judge, who had recently arrived in the territory, and was but slightly acquainted with either of the parties. To ensure an impartial jury, the court appointed two persons, who returned a panel of fortyeight jurors. From this fortyeight the plaintiff and defendant each struck twelve, and from the remaining twentyfour the jury was selected by lot.

Every person concerned in the Indian department, or who could know anything of the circumstances attending the negotiation of the treaty of Fort Wayne, was examined, and every latitude was allowed the defendant in the examination. Finding that they could make out nothing against the treaty, the defendant's counsel began to ask questions respecting the governor's civil administration. To this the court objected, as being irrelevant to the point in issue; but at the earnest solicitation of the governor, the defendant was permitted to pursue his own course, and to ask questions on all points which he thought proper. The examination of witnesses having closed, the defendant's counsel abandoned all idea of justification, and contended only for a mitigation of damages. The jury returned a verdict of $4000 against the defendant, an immense verdict, in a new country, where money was scarce, and where damages given by juries, in general, are very small. To satisfy this judgment, a large amount of the defendant's lands were exposed to sale, and in the

absence of the governor, in the command of the army, the ensuing year, they were bought in by his agent. Two thirds of this property the governor afterwards returned to M'Intosh; and the remainder he distributed among the orphan children of several distinguished citizens, who fell in the service of their country, in the war of 1812.

Tecumthe and the prophet still continued their hostile preparations; and the aggressions on the whites, committed by persons whom they encouraged and protected, became every day more aggravated. Horses were stolen, houses were plundered, families were murdered, and the whole frontier was thrown into a state of agitation and alarm. The governor sent a speech to the prophet, informing him of the terror which his proceedings excited among the people of the Territory, and assuring him that he must desist, otherwise the United States would be beforehand with him in commencing hostilities. This message produced a second visit from Tecumthe, who however gave no satisfaction; and who soon departed on a journey to the South, in the hope of persuading the southern Indians, to join in his confederacy. His mother was a Creek, a circumstance on which he placed much reliance; and it is certain, that some two years later, he induced the Creeks to raise the hatchet against the United States.

Under these circumstances, greatly to his own satisfaction, and that of the people of the Territory, the governor received instructions to move towards the prophet's town with an armed force. He was expressly required however to avoid hostilities, "of any kind, or to any degree, not absolutely necessary." These latter instructions placed the governor in a very delicate position,

and gave every advantage to those against whom he was to act. He was to march upon the prophet's town, but was not to fight unless obliged to. This secured to the prophet the opportunity of choosing the time and place of attack, of selecting his own ground, and striking the first blow.

The troops for this expedition were collected at Fort Harrison, on the Wabash, about sixty miles above Vincennes. They consisted of the Fourth Regiment of United States Infantry, under Col. Boyd, 350 strong, and about 550 volunteer militia, including a squadron of dragoons, and three companies of mounted riflemen. The volunteers were principally from Indiana, but some sixty or seventy were from Kentucky, including several gentlemen of distinguished reputation in that State, besides several young men, who afterwards gained much credit by their services in the subsequent war with Great Britain.

The Delawares still adhered to the interests of the United States, and the governor had sent for the chiefs to join him at Fort Harrison. He despatched some of them on a mission to the prophet, to induce him to lay aside his hostile designs. This mission was unavailing. The Delawares on their return, reported that they had been ill received, ill treated, insulted, and finally dismissed with the most contemptuous remarks upon themselves and the governor.

The army commenced its advance from Fort Harrison, on the 28th of October, 1811, and the whole march was conducted with great caution. The troops were encamped every night, in order of battle, and they marched always in two lines, on each side the trail which served as a road, in such order that by a single movement they could

be formed into two lines, or thrown into a hollow square, as circumstances might require. The dragoons and mounted riflemen covered the front, flanks, and rear, and exchanged positions with each other as the ground varied, so as to ensure to each that which was most favorable to its particular method of fighting.

At some distance above Fort Harrison, two routes presented themselves; one, which was the shorter, along the south bank of the Wabash, but which passed through a woody and uneven country; while the other, on the opposite bank of the river, led, for the most part, through level and open prairies. To deceive the enemy, the governor advanced upon the south side of the river, for some miles, when suddenly he changed his direction, crossed the stream, and pursued the northern road. By this manœuvre, the Indians were completely misled, and the troops advanced for several days without seeing any traces of the enemy.

For the purpose of keeping himself informed of the movements and proceedings of the prophet, the governor employed a number of Indian scouts. Hearing nothing from these scouts, and seeing nothing of the enemy, the governor became alarmed, lest the prophet might have passed the flanks of the army and advanced toward the settlements. This was a manœuvre perfectly practicable. Vincennes was but an outpost; and the settlements extending from it towards the falls of the Ohio, formed a narrow line of little strength, and difficult to be defended. Besides, a large proportion of the able bodied men were present with the army. Impressed with this danger, and desirous at all events to save the settlements from the miseries of Indian devastation, the governor dimin-

goons, who occupied the centre, were kept as a reserve, and were directed in case of attack, to parade dismounted, and wait for orders. After reconnoitreing the whole ground, the governor called the officers together, and gave particular directions to each how to draw up and dispose of his men, in case of attack, and what measures to take under all the circumstances which were likely to occur. After receiving these orders the officers retired to rest, much dissatisfied at the prospect of returning home without a battle.

Indeed, there was not a single individual in the camp, who believed that an attack would be made that night. The governor and those officers who were best acquainted with the Indian mode of fighting were the least apprehensive on this point. They did not believe that the Indians would dare to attack by night, an army so favorably posted; for in the dark they lose the peculiar advantage they possess in the day time, from the accuracy of their rifles, and their dexterity in covering themselves with trees, logs, and bushes. The muskets, buck-shot, and bayonets of a body of firm and disciplined troops, must in a night attack, always prevail over the rifles of the Indians. The governor indeed expected, that sooner or later, the prophet would attack him by treachery or ambuscade; but he supposed that some opportunity would be selected more promising of success. But whatever opinions were entertained as to the likelihood of an attack, every possible precaution was taken to be prepared for it. The camp was surrounded by a chain of sentinels, posted at such a distance as to give notice of the approach of the enemy in time for the troops to take their position, yet not so distant as to prevent their re-

treat, if overpowered by numbers. In civilized warfare, picquets or detached guards, are frequently posted at a considerable distance from the camp, and on the roads leading to it. Against Indians such guards are useless, for they do not require a road on which to move, and these detached parties would always be cut off by the enemy's superior adroitness.

In conformity to a general order, the troops went to rest with their clothes and accoutrements on, their muskets loaded by their sides, and their bayonets fixed. The officers were ordered to sleep in the same manner. It was the governor's constant practice to be completely ready to mount his horse at a moment's warning. The night passed without any disturbance, and the governor and his aids rose about a quarter of four, and were sitting in conversation about the fire. The moon had risen, but afforded little light, in consequence of floating clouds, from which occasionally fell a small drizzling rain. In a few minutes the signal would have been given for the troops to turn out, when the Indian rifles were heard, and the attack commenced. The Indian warriors had crept up close to the sentries, with the design to rush forward and despatch them before they could fire. One of them however discovered an Indian creeping towards him through the grass, and fired. This was immediately followed by the Indian yell. and a desperate charge upon the rear angle of the left flank of the encampment. The firing at once became very severe; but as soon as the men could be formed and posted, they returned it with spirit, and maintained their ground with desperate valor. All the camp fires were immediately extinguished, their light being more useful to the Indians than to our men.

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The governor immediately mounted his horse and proceeded to the point of attack, which he strengthened by two companies drawn from the centre of the rear line. A heavy fire now commenced all along the left flank, upon the whole of the front and right flank, and upon a part of the rear line. The Indians advanced and retreated by a rattling noise made with deer's hoofs. They fought with enthusiasm, and seemed determined upon victory. The governor employed himself in encouraging and supporting the men at those points where they were hardest pressed. He ordered several changes of position on the part of particular corps, such as the circumstances of the contest seemed to require, in all of which the men were conducted and formed by himself. As daylight appeared, the left flank, which was the most accessible part of the encampment, was strengthened by troops drawn from the front and rear line. The dragoons were now mounted, and, covered by them, a successful charge was made upon the enemy, by the troops on the left flank. The Indians were driven into a swamp, through which the cavalry could not penetrate. At the same time a charge was made on the right flank, and the Indians in that quarter put to flight; after which they disappeared from the field, and the battle ended.

The prophet, it was said, took no active part in the fight, but remained secure on a neighboring eminence, singing a war song. He had promised his followers that the Great Spirit would charm the bullets of the Americans, so that they would drop harmless; and that the Indians should have light, while their opponents were involved in thick darkness. Being told that his men were falling, he

bade them fight on, and they would soon see the fulfilment of his prophecies. Tecumthe was not present at this engagement, being on a visit to the southern Indians, whom he hoped to engage in his confederacy against the United States.

Governor Harrison's forces consisted of about eight hundred men. The killed amounted to sixty-one, and the wounded were about double that number. Among the killed were two or three distinguished citizens of Kentucky, who had volunteered for the expedition. The governor himself had a narrow escape, the hair of his head being cut by a rifle ball. The Indians, whose force was supposed to be about eight hundred or a thousand, left thirtyeight warriors dead upon the field, and buried many in the town, who were removed during the battle. Their loss was at least as great as that of the Americans—a very unusual or rather an unprecedented thing. It is the custom of the Indians, always to avoid a close action, and from their dexterity in hiding themselves, but few can be killed in any battle. At St. Clair's defeat, it is believed that not ten Indians were killed, and at Braddock's, still fewer. Even in the decisive victory gained by Gen. Wayne, but very few of the Indians fell. At Tippecanoe, they displayed a peculiar boldness—a conduct attributed to the confidence with which the prophet had inspired them, and to the distinguished bravery of the Winnebago warriors.

The battle of Tippecanoe, gave rise to an infinite deal of discussion, in the West, and throughout the whole country. The conduct of the governor in consenting to a cessation of hostilities, in the selection of a camp, and in the conduct of the battle, were criticised and canvassed in every form.

Some, from a desire to show their superior sagacity, after the affair was ended; others instigated by a hostility to the administration under whose orders Governor Harrison had acted; and others who had lost friends in the action, and whose judgment was perverted by their private grief, blamed this, that, and the other point of the governor's conduct; and Colonel Boyd, the commander of the regiment of regular troops, made an attempt to carry off all the honor of the victory—an attempt, however, in which he was resisted by the whole body of his own officers.

After all these discussions, the public mind settled down into the opinion that the governor had acted with the greatest energy, prudence, and sagacity; and that to his coolness and courage, the defeat of the Indians was to be ascribed. The Legislature of Indiana approved his conduct in the highest terms; and the Legislature of Kentucky, having voted to go in mourning for the citizens of that State slain in the battle, on the motion of John J. Crittenden, now a distinguished member of the Senate of the United States, resolved, "That in the late campaign against the Indians on the Wabash, Governor W. H. Harrison, has, in the opinion of this Legislature, behaved like a hero, a patriot, and a general; and that, for his cool, deliberate, skilful and gallant conduct in the late battle of Tippecanoe, he well deserves the warmest thanks of the nation."

The battle was spoken of in President Madison's message, communicating the official account of it to Congress, as follows. "While it is deeply to be lamented that so many valuable lives have been lost in the action, Congress will see with satisfaction, the dauntless spirit and fortitude, victoriously

displayed by every description of troops engaged, as well as the collected firmness which distinguished their commander on an occasion requiring the utmost exertion of valor and discipline."

To these official attestations, let us here add the testimony of a private soldier of the fourth regiment. It is taken from a work published in 1816, in Keene, New Hampshire, entitled, "A Journal of two Campaigns of the fourth Regiment of United States Infantry, by *Adam Walker*, a private in the fourth Regiment." Mr Walker was a person with whom Governor Harrison had no acquaintance, and he may be supposed to express the opinion of the common soldiers employed in that expedition. On page 31, speaking of the battle of Tippecanoe, he says, "General Harrison received a shot through the rim of his hat. In the heat of the action his voice was frequently heard and easily distinguished, giving his orders in the same calm, cool and collected manner, with which we had been used to receive them on drill or parade. The confidence of the troops in the General, was unlimited."

Again, speaking of a small portion of the militia who had become dissatisfied, at being detained from home longer than they expected, this writer observes, "He, (i. e. General Harrison,) appeared not disposed to detain any man against his inclination, being endowed by nature with a heart as humane as brave; in his frequent addresses to the militia, his eloquence was formed to persuade; appeals were made to reason as well as feeling, and never were made in vain."

The whole of the day of the battle, was spent in taking care of the wounded, burying the dead, and fortifying the camp. The next day the dragoons

and mounted riflemen were sent to reconnoitre the town. They found it fortified with much care and labor, but totally deserted. A great quantity of corn was left behind, all the household utensils, and even a few guns, and some ammunition. The town had evidently been abandoned in great haste. Some dead were found in it, and quite a number partially buried in the gullies adjacent. Every thing that could be useful to the army was removed, and the town was then burned.

On the morning of the 7th, the troops were put in motion on their return. It required every wagon to transport the wounded. The governor called the officers together, explained to them the necessity of destroying the baggage, and set the example by ordering his own camp furniture to be broken and burned. The army arrived without interruption at the block house on the Wabash, where the wounded were embarked in boats, and the rest of the troops continued on by land to Vincennes.

In December following, deputies from various tribes arrived at Vincennes to endeavor to accommodate matters; and in March there came another delegation from all the late hostile tribes except the Shawnese. It was represented that since the battle of Tippecanoe, the prophet had been a wanderer, attended by only a few followers, and that his influence was very much diminished. Every thing promised fair for a settlement of difficulties; but several circumstances conspired to prevent it. The first was the return of Tecumthe from the south, who again took the lead, and stirred up the Indians to resistance. A second obstacle in the way of a satisfactory arrangement was the withdrawal of the regular toops which had been stationed at Vincennes, and whose presence had

served as a check to the hostile tribes. But what had the greatest influence of all, and tended wholly to neutralize the advantages which might otherwise have been derived from the victory of Tippecanoe, was the commencement of the war with Great Britain, by which means the Indians were encouraged and enabled to renew hostilities, and Tecumthe found an ally able and eager to second all his plans.

CHAPTER V.

War with Great Britain—Circumstances which led to the appointment of Harrison to command the Northwestern army—Extent of his authority—Difficulties to be encountered—Harrison's influence with the Militia—Anecdotes—Plan of the Campaign—Obstacles in the way—Harrison recommends the construction of a flat on Lake Erie—Battle of the River Raisin—End of the Campaign—Expedition against the Indians.

Immediately after the declaration of war against Great Britain, Governor Harrison determined to put the Indiana territory in the best posture of defence, which circumstances admitted; and he left Vincennes for the eastern part of the territory, for the purpose of reviewing and disciplining the militia. During this absence from the seat of government, he visited Cincinnati, where his family then was: and while there he received a letter from Governor Scott, of Kentucky, urging him to come to Frankfort, in order to consult and advise respecting the disposition of the Kentucky volunteers, assembled for the protection of the Northwestern frontier. He went accordingly, and

was received at Frankfort with military honors, and the greatest enthusiasm on the part of the people. Soon after his arrival, orders were received from the war department, placing a portion of the Kentucky quota under his command for the protection of the territory of which he was governor. The remainder were ordered to concentrate at Georgetown, for the purpose of marching from that place to reinforce General Hull, who was already getting into difficulty, and calling urgently for more troops.

While the governor was employed in getting ready the Kentucky troops which were to march to Vincennes, letters were received from Detroit, from several officers in the army, written a few days previous to the attack upon that place by the British, stating their entire want of confidence in their commander, and their apprehension of some fatal disaster from his miserable arrangements, and apparent imbecility and cowardice. These letters also declared it to be the common wish of the army that Governor Harrison should accompany the expected reinforcements.

Governor Harrison was very popular in Kentucky, and the wish thus expressed by the officers of Hull's army was warmly concurred in by the Kentucky volunteers. But the authority he had received from the President did not entitle him to command any troops not intended to operate in the territories of Indiana and Illinois.

The feeling however in favor of his appointment to the command was very strong; and there were many inducements which weighed powerfully with Governor Scott to confer it upon him. But there were difficulties in the way, from the fact that he was not a citizen of Kentucky, and from other

circumstances connected with the organization of the troops. In this dilemma Governor Scott called together a *caucus* of influential persons, composed of Mr Shelby, the governor elect, Henry Clay, speaker of the House of Representatives in Congress, Thomas Todd, judge of the Federal Circuit Court, and some others. These persons, after consultation, unanimously resolved to advise the governor to give Harrison a brevet commission of major general in the Kentucky militia, and to authorise him to take command of the detachment marching to Detroit. This was accordingly done. The appointment was hailed with approbation by the citizens generally, and especially by the volunteers, who had already arrived at Cincinnati on their march to the north. The news of Hull's surrender, which was received just at this time, caused the appointment of Harrison to be regarded with feelings of still warmer approbation.

General Harrison accepted the appointment, and entered upon the duties of it with great zeal and spirit. But his operations after a short time, were interrupted by the receipt of letters from the war department written in ignorance both of the surrender of Hull and of what had been done in Kentucky, appointing General Winchester to take command of the troops marching to Detroit. At the same time Harrison received an appointment of brigadier-general in the service of the United States, which appointment, however, he declined to accept, being desirous that the war department should be first informed of the arrangements by which he had been appointed to the command of the Kentucky troops. In the meantime these troops had marched to the Northwestern frontier of Ohio, and General Harrison,—having first suc-

ceeded in relieving Fort Wayne, which had been besieged by the Indians, and in destroying the Indian towns on the Wabash,—resigned the command to General Winchester, who had arrived at the camp.

General Winchester had been an officer in the revolutionary army, and was now advanced in life. He was a wealthy citizen of Tennessee, where he had lived for many years in a style of elegant luxury and ease, little calculated to season him for a northern campaign in the woods. His arrival caused great uneasiness among the troops. They had confidently expected that General Harrison would be confirmed in the command; and by this time his affable and courteous address, and his indefatigable attention to the duties of his station, had secured for him the confidence of every soldier in the army. The volunteers especially, were very loud in their expressions of dissatisfaction at the change of command; and General Harrison had to exert his utmost influence to reconcile the army to it. At last the men consented to march under Winchester, with a confident belief, however, that as soon as the case was understood by the war department, General Harrison would be reinstated in command.

This expectation of the soldiers was soon realized. In a short time General Harrison received a despatch informing him that he had been appointed by the President to the command of the Northwestern army, with orders to protect the western frontier, retake Detroit, destroy the British establishments at Malden, and to penetrate as far as possible into Canada. In a letter to Governor Shelby, of Kentucky, from the Secretary of War, of simultaneous date, it was stated, that to meet

existing contingencies, "it had been determined to vest the command of all the forces on the western and northwestern frontiers in an officer whose military character and knowledge of the country appear to be combined with the public confidence. "General Harrison," adds the letter, "has accordingly been appointed to the chief command, with authority to employ officers, and to draw from the public stores, and every other practicable source, all the means of effectuating the object of his command."

The authority thus bestowed upon General Harrison, was more extensive than was ever entrusted to any other officer in the military service of the United States, Washington and Greene alone excepted. He was to provide for the safety of the whole Northwestern Frontier, from the confines of Pennsylvania and Ohio, to the territory of Missouri; and in addition he was to carry on offensive operations against the enemy for the recovery of the posts and territory which Hull had surrendered into their hands, and for the conquest of Malden, their principal depot and head quarters in Upper Canada.

Every circumstance almost conspired to surround this command with the most formidable difficulties. The troops with which the operations were to be carried on, consisted almost entirely of volunteers and militia from Kentucky and the other western States. These men were altogether unused to military service of any kind, without the slightest tincture of discipline, and wholly indisposed by all their feelings and habits, to that implicit obedience so necessary in an army. The enthusiasm which led them to volunteer, quickly evaporated amid the extreme hardships and priva-

tions to which they were exposed; they were always more ready to give advice than to obey orders; and with the exception of their courage, which was undeniable, and that personal hardihood without which they never could have endured the hardships of that service, they possessed but few military qualities, and furnished very intractable materials for the formation of an army. The officers were as ignorant of discipline as the men; and were wholly unacquainted with the principles of military science. In the most delicate and important parts of the service, they were able to afford the commander-in-chief hardly any assistance; and indeed, through ignorance or inattention, often placed him in the most embarrassing situations. What aggravated all these difficulties was, the extreme deficiency and confusion of those departments of the service, of which it was the business to furnish supplies of clothing and provisions. There was a great deficiency even of arms and military stores. Almost every thing for the supply of the army, provisions excepted, had to be transported from the Atlantic states; and owing to the limited means of transportation which existed in those days, and the constant failure of contractors to fulfil what they had undertaken, there was almost always a deficiency, which often became alarming.

The posts which General Harrison was ordered to recover, were separated from the frontier settlements by a swampy forest two hundred miles in extent, without roads or inhabitants, and in many places totally impassable by wagons.

The enemy he had to encounter consisted of trained and disciplined British troops, well supplied with every thing necessary, and aided by a large

body of Indians, who were supported by British rations, and commanded by a chief of the greatest sagacity, energy and courage. The enemy also had the double advantage of being concentrated within a small compass, and of commanding Lake Erie by means of a fleet; while the vast extent of the American frontier presented a great number of points of attack, any of which the enemy could select at pleasure, and by an harassing warfare, distract the attention and delay the advance of the American force.

To any one who will take into consideration all these circumstances, it will be sufficiently obvious that the command to which General Harrison was appointed, demanded energy, perseverance, and indefatigable activity; and that no man could succeed in it who did uot join to military talents of a high order, a knowledge of men and things, and a fertility of resource, far beyond what ordinarily suffices for a military commander. He had an army to discipline, and in fact to create; this same army he was obliged to clothe and feed; and to this was joined the still more difficult task of keeping it obedient and contented in the midst of hardships and sufferings of no ordinary character; all this he had to perform besides protecting the frontier, fighting the enemy, and the ordinary duties of a commanding general.

The authority conferred upon him was co-extensive with the difficulties of his position. He was authorised to make appointments in all the various departments of the army, and the officers whom he thus selected were confirmed by the president. He was at liberty to draw on the government for money to any amount, and to make any contracts which he might deem expedient for the

supply of his troops. These extraordinary powers he exercised with energy, but at the same time with moderation and prudence; nor did he ever transcend the respect he owed to the laws, or abuse in any way the high trust thus confided to him.

This appointment, it deserves to be remarked, was obtained by General Harrison by means of no party or personal influence. It was bestowed upon him, in compliance with the spontaneous and almost unanimous wishes of the western people, and by a president, who as Secretary of State under Jefferson, had kept up a constant correspondence with him in relation to the territorial affairs of Indiana, and who had thus enjoyed an ample opportunity of estimating his capacity and character.

The first grand object to be accomplished by General Harrison was, to maintain that influence over the troops to which he owed his appointment. His good sense, as well as his experience, taught him that militia—freemen serving voluntary out of a spirit of patriotism—did not expect, nor deserve, nor would they submit to, the same kind of treatment which is practised towards mercenary troops. These volunteers consisted in general of the most high-spirited young men from among a free population; they had talent, intelligence, and feelings of the most sensitive kind; and their leaders were the popular men of the districts to which they belonged. It would have shown a bad heart, as well as a poor knowledge of human nature, to have assumed towards such soldiers an arrogant bearing, and to have attempted to compel their obedience by severity and rigor. General Harrison proceeded in a different method. He observed a strict military etiquette, and required a prompt

and exact attention to his orders, from those under his command, but at the same time he always treated his men with respect, considering every soldier as a patriot who was making sacrifices for his country. It was his practice to win obedience by kindness, and to enforce the performance of duty by appeals to reason and the feelings. During the whole of his command he never suffered a degrading punishment to be inflicted upon a militia soldier. He had no occasion to shoot deserters, or to flog the negligent. Like a father among his children he often gave affectionate admonitions in private, which precluded the necessity of a public exposure. When the misconduct or discontent was not confined merely to individuals, but pervaded whole corps, he availed himself of his remarkable talent for extemporaneous speaking, and by a persuasive eloquence which acted at once upon their heads and their hearts, he recalled the troops to a sense of their duty, and a determination to perform it.

A striking instance of the influence he was thus able to exert, was exhibited shortly after he took command of the army. Having arrived late at night at the encampment at Fort Defiance, he was waited upon by the officers of one of the Kentucky regiments, who informed him that their men, exhausted by the hardships of the service, and disappointed in the expectation of an immediate engagement with the enemy, had resolved to return home; and that all the entreaties or arguments of their officers could not avail to restrain them. In fact their appeals had been answered only by insult, and they called upon the general to interfere at once, as the only officer likely to bring back the mutineers to their duty.

The general declined to do anything that night, but gave orders that the next morning the drums should beat the *alarm* instead of the *revellié*. This brought all the troops to their arms; and in conformity to a previous order they were drawn up in a hollow square. General Harrison now appeared on parade, much to the surprise of the troops, who were ignorant of his arrival. He proceeded to harangue them on the subject of the campaign, and presently alluded to the difficulties which existed in one of the Kentucky regiments. It was fortunate, he said, that he had found out this dissatisfaction thus early in the campaign. It was now easy, without any injury to the service, to dismiss those who were discontented because while making war in the woods, they could not enjoy all the luxuries of peace and home. They were at liberty to return,—he only pitied them for the reception they would be likely to meet with when they arrived in Kentucky!

The influence of this address was powerful and instantaneous. Scott, the senior Kentucky colonel, called out to his troops to show their attachment to the service and their general by giving three cheers. To this appeal the regiment instantly responded, as did the regiment of Colonel Lewis to a similar call from him. Allen, the commander of the discontented regiment, now demanded of his men whether they would be behind the rest of the Kentuckians in patriotism and fortitude? They replied with the same shout as the rest, and from that time, the project of returning was heard of no more.

That the hardships which produced these discontents were by no means imaginary, will appear from the following account of a night's encamp-

ment during Harrison's march to Defiance, on the occasion above alluded to. He had received information—which proved however to be unfounded—that the troops at Defiance were threatened with an attack from a combined force of British and Indians; and he proceeded in haste from St. Mary's to their relief. The troops being on a forced march, were not suffered to halt till dark. On the night referred to, they encamped on the banks of the Au Glaise, in a level beach woods, the ground nearly covered with water from the rain which fell in torrents all night. They had no axes, and could only procure such fuel as was furnished by the dry limbs scattered on the ground. Those who could find a dry log against which to kindle a fire were fortunate indeed. Many sat without fire, upon their saddles, leaning against the trunks of trees, and endeavoring to sleep. Beig separated from the baggage, few had any thing to eat or drink. The men became peevish, and were not sparing in complaints. To check this bad feeling, and give an example of cheerfulness, the general, who sat with his staff by a small fire, wrapped in his cloak, and receiving the rain as it fell, called on one of his officers to sing a humorous Irish song. Another officer sang a song, with the following chorus:

> "Now's the time for mirth and glee,
> Sing and laugh and dance with me!"

The ludicrous contrast of this song with their actual situation, put the men into quite a good humor. Indeed this chorus afterwards became proverbial in the army, and was always raised upon occasion of the greatest suffering and fatigue.

It was by means like these, that General Harrison always succeeded in controlling the feelings

of his men, and inspiring them with a spirit of cheerfulness and obedience; and it is worthy of remark, that although several detached expeditions within the range of his command, were totally defeated by the insubordination of the men who composed them, and their refusal to obey orders, nothing of the kind ever occurred when he was present.

It was late in September before General Harrison received his appointment. The administration were exceedingly desirous that he should accomplish the chief objects of it, viz: the recapture of Detroit, the conquest of Malden, and the expulsion of the British force from Upper Canada,—during that campaign; and the greatest efforts were made for that purpose.

The army placed under his command consisted nominally of ten thousand men; but the effective force never exceeded six thousand. It was composed of the Kentucky regiments already in the field, a body of Ohio militia also already under arms, and two brigades of volunteers, which were to be marched, one from Virginia, and the other from Pennsylvania. A train of artillery was to be supplied from Pittsburg.

The plan of the campaign formed by General Harrison was as follows. He stationed the left wing of the army, the command of which had been entrusted to General Winchester,* and which consisted principally of the Kentucky troops, at Defiance. The right wing, which was to be composed of the Virginia and Pennsylvania brigades, of

* When Harrison was appointed to the command of the Northwestern army, Winchester had his choice to remain with that army, or to join the forces on the Niagara frontier. He chose to remain.

which Harrison himself assumed the immediate command, was to concentrate at Upper Sandusky. The centre corps consisted of Ohio troops, commanded by General Tupper, and was stationed at fort McArthur. At these several points supplies of provisions and stores were to be accumulated; and from these points the army was to move to the rapids of the Maumee, where all the corps were to be united, and whence they were to move forward for ulterior operations against the British and Indian enemy.

Having made all the arrangements in his power along the front of his position, the general now hastened into the rear to push forward the supplies essential to the campaign. The Kentucky troops, with characteristic thoughtlessness, had left home in summer dresses; few of them had any blankets; and all were unprovided with the clothing necessary for a winter campaign. To supply this deficiency was not easy. The articles needed were not to be purchased without the greatest difficulty; and the general found himself under the necessity of appealing to the patriotism of the Kentuckians to contribute and forward these necessary supplies. The appeal was not made in vain. But it was very late before the soldiers benefitted by it.

It soon became obvious that if the recovery of Detroit was to be accomplished during that campaign, it could only be by continuing operations through the winter, and taking advantage of the frozen ground to forward supplies, and of the frozen surface of the lake to cross over and attack Malden. Indeed the difficulties by which the expedition was surrounded seemed to increase every day. The three points above mentioned, upon which the supplies of the army were to be accu-

mulated, viz. Defiance, fort McArthur, and Upper Sandusky, were considerably advanced beyond the line of settlements, and the roads by which alone they could be approached, were in a most terrible condition, which was aggravated by the excessive rains of the season. The destruction of pack-horses, and the waste and loss which occurred in the transportation of stores, were enormous, and though vast sums were spent, but little was accomplished. But to get forward the stores to these points, was in fact only the commencement of difficulties. Those at Defiance might indeed be transported to the rapids of the Maumee by a water communication down the river; but those accumulated at the other two depots, were to be carried across the *black swamp*, an almost impassable barrier which stretched along parallel to the Maumee from the Au Glaise to lake Erie. This terrible swamp, it seemed almost impossible to cross, except when it was hardened by the frosts of winter.

It soon occured to General Harrison, that the best and most economical way to accomplish the objects of the campaign was, to build a fleet on lake Erie, and having obtained the command of the lake, to be able to move the army and its stores by water. The necessity of thus getting the command of the lake, he early suggested in his correspondence with the war department. "Admitting," he wrote, "that Malden and Detroit are both taken, Macinaw and St. Josephs will both remain in the hands of the enemy, until we can create a force capable of contending with the vessels which the British have on lake Erie, and which they will be able to maintain, so long as the canoe route by Grand River and lake Nipissin

shall remain to them, and for six months longer." Again, urging the economy of this mode of operation, he says, in the same letter, "I should not hesitate to say, that if a small proportion of the sums which will be expended in the quartermaster's department, in the active prosecution of the campaign during the winter, was devoted to obtaining the command of lake Erie, the wishes of the government, to their utmost extent, could be accomplished without difficulty, in the months of April and May. Malden, Detroit, and Macinaw, would fall in rapid succession." In a subsequent letter he still urges this same idea. "Should our offensive operations be suspended until spring, it is my decided opinion that the most effectual and cheapest plan will be, to obtain command of lake Erie. This being once effected, every difficulty will be removed. An army of four thousand men, landed on the north side of the lake below Malden, will soon reduce that place, retake Detroit, and with the aid of the fleet proceed down the lake to co-operate with the army from Niagara."

Soon after, he writes again as follows. "I have no means of estimating correctly the cost of a naval armament, capable of effecting this object, but from my knowledge of the cost of transporting supplies through a swampy wilderness, I do believe that the expense which will be incurred in six weeks in the spring, in an attempt to transport the provisions for the army along the road leading from the Rapids to Detroit, would build and equip the vessels for this purpose."

The Virginia brigade, which was to form a part Harrison's army, did not approach the scene of action till late in November; and it was December before the Pennsylvania troops arrived at Upper

Sandusky. About the same time arrived the train of artillery which had been promised, but in which the general was much disappointed, many of the guns being only six pounders, and the carriages of the whole extremely defective, and hardly fit for service.

Though Harrison was satisfied that the command of the lake was essential to the entire success of the enterprise in which he was engaged, yet as the war department seemed to consider the recovery of Detroit that winter, an object of much importance, he was resolved to persevere in the attempt. Detroit he felt certain of taking at all events, and if the frost should secure him a passage across the lake, he expected to be able to gain possession of Malden also.

Having now collected all the troops of the right wing at Sandusky, the artillery having arrived, and a large store of provisions being accumulated, orders were sent to General Winchester to move down from Defiance to the Rapids, to which point it was designed that the whole army should shortly march. This movement was accomplished by Winchester on the 10th of January, 1813; but he took no proper means to inform General Harrison of it. When he left the Rapids on the 30th of December, he despatched a message with information of the fact, which did not reach its destination till the 11th of January. Orders were immediately issued for sending forward a part of the artillery and a quantity of provisions. On the 16th of January, the general learned, not directly from Winchester, but indirectly from General Perkins, who commanded a body of troops stationed at Lower Sandusky, that Winchester had arrived at the Rapids, and *that he was meditating a movement*

against the enemy, for which purpose he solicited a battalion from General Perkins. This information alarmed Harrison greatly. He immediately made every exertion to get forward the artillery, stores and provisions,—a business, however, which went on very slowly, on account of the extreme badness of the roads.

In the meantime Winchester had undertaken an enterprise which turned out very disastrously, and which destroyed all hopes of reducing Detroit or Malden that winter.

On the river Raisin, which empties into the head of lake Erie, within the boundaries of Michigan, was a small French settlement, the inhabitants of which sent messengers to General Winchester at the Rapids, requesting his protection against a British and Indian force of about four hundred men, from whom, now that their neighborhood was likely to become the seat of war, they apprehended the destruction of their town, its inhabitants being generally favorable to the American cause. Frenchtown—for so the settlement was called,—was thirty miles from the Rapids, while it was only eighteen miles from Malden, the head-quarters of the British, from which place it was easily accessible over the frozen surface of the lake.

By the advice of a council of officers which Winchester called together, he resolved to send on a part of his troops to the river Raisin ; and on the 17th of January, Colonels Lewis and Allen marched at the head of about six hundred and sixty men. The next day they reached Frenchtown, and after a sharp action with the forces of the enemy, which had possession of the place, they drove them out and obtained possession of it. Colonel Lewis, flushed with this success, resolved to hold the town, and he

despatched an express to Winchesser to inform him of his intention. This news raised a great ferment in Winchester's camp. It was evident that the situation of Lewis was critical, on account of his vicinity to Malden; but all were eager for holding the town, and all were anxious to march for the purpose of reinforcing the advanced corps. Accordingly, on the evening of the 19th, Winchester himself moved at the head of two hundred and fifty men, which was all the disposable force which the camp supplied, and arriving at Frenchtown on the night of the 20th, he assumed the chief command.

The troops which Lewis had led, were encamped among garden pickets, sufficient to afford them some protection against musketry. The force which arrived under Winchester took their station in an open field, without any cover. During the whole of the 21st, notwithstanding the dangerous position of the troops, nothing whatever was done towards fortifying the camp. General Winchester was informed by a Frenchman from Malden that a strong force was about marching from that place to attack him. He paid no attention to this information, but took up his quarters in a house nearly a mile from the camp, and on the opposite side of the river. He even omitted to station any piquet guard on the road leading to Malden.

Just at day break, on the 22d, the British from Malden, who had approached the camp unperceived, opened a heavy fire upon it from several pieces of artillery loaded with grape shot, at a distance of three hundred yards. Though completely surpised, Lewis's men on the right, who were protected by the pickets about their encampment, maintained their ground with much spirit. But the detachment which had arrived under Winchester, on the left, being totally without any barrier

against the enemy, were soon thrown into confusion, and fled in disorder across the river, carrying with them a strong detachment from the right which had been sent to their aid. All attempts to rally the fugitives proved vain; and the Indians who had gained their flank and rear, pursued and tomahawked them without mercy. Some few, among whom was General Winchester, were taken prisoners, and carried to the British camp.

In the mean time the men behind the pickets maintained their position with much firmness, till at length the commander of the British force procured an order from Winchester, commanding them to surrender. As their ammunition was nearly exhausted, and as they had no hopes of being reinforced, they thought it best to obey. They surrendered, however, on express condition of being protected against the fury of the Indians.

The prisoners who were able to march, were taken off to Malden; the wounded were left behind in the houses of the village, with reiterated promises that the next day sleds should be sent for their removal, and that, in the mean time, they need apprehend no danger. The next morning, however, instead of the promised sleds, came a party of Indians, who murdered all these wounded prisoners in cold blood!

The defeat and massacre at the river Raisin produced an extraordinary sensation throughout the west, and particularly in Kentucky. The volunteers were, many of them, persons of note; as it was a long time before the surviving prisoners were heard from, it was long uncertain who had escaped; and there was scarcely a family in the state which had not a relative to mourn for.

Some persons undertook to cast the blame of this affair upon General Harrison; but without the

slightest foundation. It appears from what has been related, that the expedition was undertaken totally without his consent or knowledge. We will now proceed to state the steps which he took, so soon as he heard of the movement, to reinforce General Winchester, and so to prevent the disastrous result above recounted.

The morning after General Harrison heard that Winchester contemplated a movement against the enemy, after sending forward the artillery and supplies, as above mentioned, he started for Lower Sandusky, having first despatched an express to the Rapids for information. This was the 17th. Arrived at Lower Sandusky, he found that General Perkins had prepared a battalion, with a piece of artillery, in conformity with Winchester's request, and the next day, the 18th, this corps marched under Major Cotgrove, for the rapids. Harrison determined to follow it, and to have a personal interview with Winchester, of the nature of whose intended movement against the enemy he was as yet entirely ignorant. Before he started, however, early on the morning of the 19th, he received a letter from Winchester informing him of the advance of Colonel Lewis upon Frenchtown. He thereupon ordered all the remaining disposable troops at Upper Sandusky to march for the Rapids as soon and as expeditiously as possible, and immediately proceeded thither himself. He started in a sleigh with General Perkins to overtake the battalion under Cotgrove, attended by a single servant. As the sleigh went very slowly, from the roughness of the road, he took the horse of his servant and pushed on alone. Night came upon him in the midst of the swamp, which was so imperfectly frozen that the horse sunk to his belly at every step. He had no recourse but to dismount

and lead his horse, jumping from one sod to another. Finally, with the assistance of a straggling soldier whom he fortunately met, he succeeded in getting his horse through the swamp, and in reaching the camp of Cotgrove's battalion.

Pushing on, he arrived at the Rapids early on the morning of the 20th, which place General Winchester had left on the preceding evening, with all his disposable force. Nothing could now be done but to await the arrival of the troops on their march for the Rapids. As soon as the battalion under Cotgrove arrived, it was hurried forward to reinforce Winchester; and upon the arrival of the remainder of the troops from Upper Sandusky, on the evening of the 21st, the remainder of the Kentuckians, to the number of three hundred, whom Winchester had left behind to garrison his camp, were ordered to march for Frenchtown, which they did the next morning. On the forenoon of the 22nd, information reached the Rapids of the attack on Winchester's camp. General Harrison immediately ordered all the remaining troops at the Rapids to march with all possible expedition, and himself hastened forward to overtake the Kentuckians who had marched the day before. This detachment was soon met by fugitives from the battle, from whom the total defeat of Winchester's forces were ascertained. A council of general and field officers was then held, by whom it was decided that it would be imprudent and unnecessary to proceed further. Parties of the most active and enterprising men were sent forward to assist in bringing in those who might escape, and the rest of the reinforcement returned to the Rapids.

It thus appears that everything possible was done by General Harrison towards reinforcing Winches-

ter in the dangerous position he had assumed at the river Raisin. The movement to that place was highly imprudent; but its disastrous result seems to have been principally owing to the total negligence of Winchester and his officers, in taking those ordinary precautions which the nature of their position demanded. Had the camp been fortified, as it might and ought to have been, the result of the battle would have been very different. At all events the troops might easily have held out till the arrival of succor from the Rapids. In this disastrous affair the Americans lost about nine hundred men in killed and prisoners.

The troops at the Rapids, after Winchester's defeat, amounted to less than nine hundred men. A council of war unanimously recommended that this corps should fall back to Portage river, to cover the convoys which were advancing in that direction, and which had in charge all the artillery and much of the ammunition intended for the campaign. The position at the Rapids, which Winchester had chosen, was very objectionable. It was on the *north* bank of the river, and thus separated by a wide, swift, and sometimes impassable stream, from the road by which the convoys were approaching; and what was still worse, the fortifications by which it was defended were constructed upon an extremely injudicious plan.

Having removed his camp to Portage river, General Harrison sent back expresses to hasten the advance of the troops, artillery and stores. But a violent rain which now commenced, and which continued till the frost was entirely out of the ground, greatly retarded all these operations. On the 30th of January, however, General Leftwich and the Virginia brigade with a part of the artillery which had been taken off the carriages and plac'd

upon sleds, arrived at Portage river. The artillery had been sent off from Upper Sandusky on the 17th. It thus took fourteen days for only a part of it to reach Portage river, a distance of fifty miles. The ammunition wagons were nearly all left behind, their wheels and axletrees being broken, or their teams exhausted. The road, for nearly the whole distance, was strewed with broken wagons, dead or dying horses and oxen, and with small groups of militia, who having exhausted their strength in wading through the mud and water, had stopped and kindled fires on the few spots where they would burn.

By the arrival of General Leftwich, the force at Portage river was increased to one thousand eight hundred men. But of these a great many were ill with pleurisies and other disorders of a similar kind; which indeed was not to be wondered at, for the greater part of the encampment was absolutely inundated by the rain. The troops bore their situation with great patience, to which they were induced by the example of their commander. The general's tent, placed in the centre, happened to be in one of the lowest spots of the encampment. His officers urged him to change it; but he refused to do so, observing that it was necessary that every military man should be content with the situation, which in the course of his duty fell to his lot.

The following is an account of the hardships which the soldiers of Leftwich encountered on their march to Portage river, extracted from a letter of one of the Petersburg volunteers.

"In the best of the road it took us over the knees, and often to the middle. The rain was incessant. The Black swamp, (four miles from Portage river, and four in extent,) would have been considered impassable by all but men determined to surmount every diffi-

culty. In this swamp the water was about six inches deep on the ice, which was very rotten, often breaking through to the depth of four or five feet.

"We encamped on wet ground in the midst of the rain. It was with difficuly we could raise fires. We had no tents, our clothes were wet, no axes, nothing to cook with, and very little to eat. When we went to sleep, it was on two logs laid close together to keep our bodies from the wet ground. Good God! what a pliant being is man in adversitiy. The loftiest spirit that ever inhabited the human breast would have been tamed amid the difficulties that surrounded us."

On the 1st of February, the forces at Portage river advanced again to the Rapids,—General Harrison still entertaining a hope that he might yet be able to execute the great objects of the campaign the present winter. This was the season, in common years, when the most intense frosts prevailed in this country, by which its lakes and swamps were rendered perfectly firm and secure for any kind of conveyance; yet the weather still continued so warm and rainy, that the roads were entirely broken up, and travelling on the ice rendered altogether unsafe. The troops in the rear, and the necessary supplies were unable to reach the Rapids. The roads, indeed, had become absolutely impassable for any kind of carriage, and it was with the greatest difficulty that they could be traversed in any way. Under these circumstances General Harrison felt himself constrained to abandon all thoughts of advancing against Malden during the winter; and he accordingly prepared to go into winter quarters at the Rapids. For this purpose an encampment was chosen on the south side of the river, which was strongly fortified, and called *Camp Meigs*, in honor of the patriotic governor of Ohio.

This determination was indeed rendered abso-

lutely necessary by the approaching expiration of the term of service of the Kentucky and Ohio troops. In a short time, only the Pennsylvania and Virginia forces remained, they having been engaged to serve till spring.

It may be proper to mention here, that while employed in the various and arduous services towards the main object of the campaign, above briefly recounted, General Harrison organised no less than three distinct expeditions against the Indian towns, rendered necessary for the protection of the frontier, and to keep the Indians in check. Two of these expeditions, one under Colonel Trimble, and the other under General Hopkins, failed entirely, owing to the total insubordination of the troops; the third under Colonel Campbell, of the regular army, was more successful.

About this time General Harrison received the appointment of major general in the army of the United States. Singular as it may appear, though exercising the most important command in the power of the Federal government to bestow, he had hitherto acted under the Kentucky commission which he received when he first took the field. The delay in this appointment had created much uneasiness in the West; and it being suggested that General Harrison might resign at the close of the campaign, public meetings were called, and addresses sent to the President, requesting him to confer the rank of major general, and urging Harrison to accept. This demonstration of public opinion had its effect; and the commission was presently forthcoming.

CHAPTER VI.

Second campaign of the Northwestern Army—Seige and defence of fort Meigs—Second seige of fort Meigs—Seige of fort Stevenson—Perry's victory—Embarkation of the Army—Battle of the Thames—End of the campaign—Harrison resigns his commission.

In reply to his letters announcing the surspension of hostile operations, General Harrison received answers from the Secretary of War, declaring his conviction of the necessity of that course, and stating the intentions of the administration with respect to the second campaign.

The plan so often and so strongly urged by General Harrison, of obtaining command of Lake Erie, had been adopted; and captain Perry had been ordered to Presque Isle, (now Erie) to superintend the construction of a fleet, which it was supposed would be ready for service by the middle of May. The land forces destined to form the Northwestern army, were to consist of the 24th regiment of regular troops, then on its march from Tennessee, of the 17th and 19th regiments, which at that time had but few men enlisted, and of three regiments of twelve months' volunteers *to be raised* in Ohio and Kentucky. It was announced that in the opinion of the Secretary the recruits who would be enlisted for the new regiments, would be able to protect the posts until offensive operations should commence. The employment of militia was not to be resorted to till after it was ascertained that the regular troops could not be raised.

It is evident, from this statement, that the administration had passed suddenly from the height

of profusion to an ill judged parsimony. With the merely nominal forces above mentioned, the general was required to maintain the Northwestern forts, with the provisions and military stores now accumulated in them; to protect the frontier against the Indians; and to keep the British at Malden in check. Fortunately, before he had received these instructions, he had called for reinforcements of militia both from Kentucky and Ohio; and more fortunately yet, notwithstanding it was known that the call was disapproved of by the Secretary of War, the troops, nevertheless, were furnished. The whole number called for, however, was hardly sufficient to garrison the forts.

As the period for which the remaining troops at fort Meigs had enlisted was now about expiring, General Harrison felt great anxiety for the safety of that place, especially as he had heard from Governor Meigs that the Secretary of War had disapproved his call for militia, though he had not absolutely countermanded it. To get together, if possible, troops enough to garrison fort Meigs, General Harrison hastened into the interior, and arrived at Cincinnati on the 22d of March. He left the command of fort Meigs to General Leftwich, the senior officer of the Virginia brigade, having first ascertained that the breaches in the ice of Lake Erie would prevent an attack from fort Malden during his absence. On the 30th, however, he received an express informing him that the ice of the lake was so far broken up that it would soon become navigable. Having long expected that the British would attack fort Meigs as soon as the navigation was open, he returned with all expedition to the Rapids, collecting on the way all such detachments of troops as he could find, and leaving

orders for the rest to follow as speedily as possible. He reached fort Meigs on the 10th of April, with a small body of troops, to the great joy of the garrison, which was now exceedingly reduced. General Leftwich with his brigade were all gone,—the period of their enlistment having expired,—and the fort was held by a few regulars, and a small body of Pennsylvanians, who, notwithstanding the expiration of their term of enlistment, had volunteered to remain until the expected reinforcement should arrive.

Every effort was now made to complete the defences of the fort; and the general looked with great anxiety for the arrival of the Kentucky militia under General Clay, whose march, however, was greatly impeded by the terrible state of the roads. In a short time, the scouts and advanced parties of the enemy began to make their appearance; and on the 28th of April, the main body of the British troops was discovered, ascending the river in vessels and boats, the Indians approaching at the same time by land.

The assailants immediately commenced the erection of batteries on the north side of the river, opposite the fort, while their main body was encamped at old fort Miami, about a mile and a half below. To avoid the effect of these batteries, a traverse twelve feet high was constructed across the camp, the erection of which was concealed by the tents, and as soon as the batteries began to play, the troops were withdrawn behind the traverse, which afforded them a complete protection. The batteries, however, kept up a very heavy fire, which was sparingly returned from the fort, on account of the scarcity of shot. The guns of the fort were twelve and eighteen pounders. Twelve pound

shot were plentifully enough supplied from the guns of the enemy; but they furnished no eighteens,—all their large guns being twentyfours. Finding that little impression was to be made upon the fort from the north side of the river, the enemy established several batteries on the south side. But in the mean time, works had been erected to guard against this event, and the siege went on with no better success than before.

On the night of the 4th of May a message was received bringing the information that General Clay, with his forces in boats, was just above the Rapids, and would arrive at the fort by three or four o'clock in the morning. General Harrison immediately resolved upon a vigorous effort to raise the seige by a simultaneous attack upon the enemy's works on both sides of the river. The attack of the batteries on the left was committed to to a part of General Clay's forces. An officer was despatched to him with orders to land six or eight hundred men on the left bank of the river, about a mile above the fort, who were to march with despatch and secrecy against the British batteries, carry them, spike the cannon, cut down the carriages, and then hasten to their boats and cross over to the fort. Preparations in the mean time were made in the fort for a sortie against the batteries on the right bank.

Clay detached colonel Dudley with eight hundred men for the attack upon the British batteries, and descending the river with the rest of his forces, though much annoyed by the Indians from the banks, he reached the fort in safety. Meanwhile Dudley's corps landed, and rushing unexpectedly upon the British batteries carried them without difficulty. This achievement was seen

from the fort, and the entire success of this enterprise seemed certain. The enmey in their camp a mile and a half below, were indeed seen to take the alarm, and to run to arms; but their distance was such that our troops might easily have embarked and crossed to the fort without any impediment. Presently, however, the general saw with feelings of indescribable anguish,—for he was watching the whole proceeding through his spy-glass,—that the British troops were in full march, while not the smallest appearance was discernable, on the part of our men, of any arrangements either to retreat or to fight. In fact they neither saw, heard, nor thought of the enemy; their attention being entirely taken up with the novelty of their situation, or in skirmishing with a few Indians concealed in the bushes. An attempt was made by the general to call to them across the river, but that proved ineffectual. He then offered a thousand dollars to any one who would swim across and apprise Dudley of his danger. This was undertaken, but before it could be accomplished, the enemy had arrived. Forty or fifty of the Kentuckians were slain, and five hundred and fifty taken prisoners. About two hundred who were on the extreme left escaped to the boats, and succeeded in reaching the fort. Never was there a more striking instance of an easy victory converted by ignorance and thoughtlessness into a lamentable defeat!

In the mean time, the batteries on the right bank were attacked by a detachment from the fort, and though defended by a strong body of troops, were all carried. Their batteries thus rendered useless, the enemy despaired of success, and a few days after raised the seige, and retired to Malden.

The season had now arrived for active opera-

tions. But the enlistment of the regiments which were to constitute the Northwestern army was not yet completed. Leaving General Clay in command of fort Meigs, General Harrison hastened into the interior to send forward the recruits and hasten the enlistments. The construction of the fleet at Presque Isle had not proceeded with the rapidity that had been anticipated. Early in July, however, the general received such information from commodore Perry, as satisfied him of the necessity of concentrating his forces, and preparing for action. On the 25th of the same month he received from the war department the authority he had earnestly solicited and long expected, to call upon the governors of Kentucky and Ohio for a militia force ; and he immediately despatched one of his aids to the Governor of Kentucky for that purpose.

In the mean time the forces of the enemy again made their appearance before camp Meigs. General Harrison was at Lower Sandusky with a small body of regular troops. He immediately strengthened the garrison of Fort Stephenson at that place, and having entrusted the command of it to Major Croghan, with the remainder of his troops he fell back to Seneca, nine miles above,—a position convenient for assembling the forces marching from the interior, and whence succors might be sent to fort Meigs, while it covered the important point of Upper Sandusky, where the principal magazines of the army were accumulated.

Word was sent to General Clay, that in case the enemy opened batteries against fort Meigs, every effort would be made to relieve it. But the British and Indians remained before that place only a few days. On the 28th the British troops were em-

barked and sailed round to Sandusky Bay, while the Indians marched through the swamps of Portage river, with the apparent intention of attacking Lower Sandusky. An examination of the heights around fort Stephenson had been made sometime previous by General Harrison, Major Croghan, and some other officers. It was found to be commanded by a hill at no great distance, and the officers all agreed that it could not be defended against heavy artillery. Orders were accordingly left with Major Croghan, that if British troops with cannon approached the place, and he discovered them in time, he should abandon the fort and effect a retreat; but against a force merely of Indians, he was to maintain his position, as the fort was impregnable to them, and an attempt to retreat in their presence would be ineffectual.

On the evening of the 29th the general received information that the siege of fort Meigs had been raised; and from the number of Indians that infested the woods in the vicinity of his camp, he had no doubt that an immediate attack was intended by the combined British and Indians, either upon his own position at Seneca, or on fort Stephenson. A council of war was assembled, which gave a unanimous opinion, that as fort Stephenson was untenable against heavy artillery,—any quantity of which, by means of water transportation, the enemy might bring against it,—and as it was an unimportant post, it had better be abandoned, and the garrison withdrawn. Additional reasons for this advice were to be found in the fact of the very small force under the general's immediate command; and in the necessity of concentrating all the troops within his reach, for the protection of Upper Sandusky, which was a point of the utmost

importance. Orders were accordingly despatched to Major Crogan to set fire to the fort, and to repair with his command to head-quarters. But these orders did not arrive till the fort was already surrounded by Indians; and after consulting with his officers, who deemed a retreat unsafe, and that the post might be maintained, at least till further instructions could be received from head-quarters, Major Croghan returned the following answer:— "Sir, I have just received yours of yesterday, 10 o'clock, P. M., ordering me to destroy this place and make good my retreat, which was received too late to be carried into execution. We have determined to maintain this place, and by heavens we can." As Major Croghan expected that this note would fall into the hands of the enemy, he expressed himself in much stronger language than would otherwise have been consistent with propriety. However, it reached the general the same day. Not understanding the circumstances and motives which had produced it, and looking upon the style of the letter as a breach of military etiquette, he immediately despatched Colonel Willis, escorted by a corps of dragoons, with a letter to Major Croghan, requiring him to give up the command of the fort to Colonel Willis, and to repair to head-quarters. He did so; and having explained his motives in writing the offensive note, the explanations were deemed satisfactory, and the next morning he was permitted to return to his command, with written orders similar to those which had originally been given him.

On the 1st of August, the British and Indians appeared before the fort, and demanded its surrender. This being refused, a cannonade was opened from the enemy's gun-boats, but as their guns were

only six pounders, they did but little damage. On the evening of the 2d, they attempted an assault; but being received by a galling fire of musketry, and their column being raked by a six pounder, the only piece of artilery in the fort, they were repulsed with great loss, and that same night they made a hasty and disorderly retreat.

The gallant defence of fort Stephenson gained Croghan a high reputation; and some of the enemies of General Harrison made it the occasion of severe attacks npon him. In these attacks, however, Croghan himself refused to join. In a letter on this subject published soon after, he says,—"It would be insincere to say that I am not flattered by the many handsome things which have been said about the defence which was made by the troops under my command; but I desire no plaudits which are bestowed upon me at the expense of General Harrison.

"I have at all times enjoyed his confidence as far as my rank in the army entitled me to it; and on proper occasions received his marked attentions. I have felt the warmest attachment for him as a man, and my confidence in him as an able commander remains unshaken. I feel every assurance that he will at all times do me ample justice; and nothing could give me more pain than to see his enemies seize upon this occasion to deal out their unfriendly feeling and accrimonious dislike; and as long as he continues, (as in my humble opinion he has hitherto done,) to make the wisest arrangements and the most judicious disposition, which the forces under his command will justify, I shall not hesitate to unite with the army in bestowing upon him that confidence which he so richly merits, and which has on no occasion been withheld."

It is proper to add,—as this subject has been much harped upon by General Harrison's enemies, that in consequence of certain publications in the newspapers, all the general and field officers of the army united in signing a paper, by which the general's conduct in this affair was cordially approved.

About the 18th of August, commodore Perry with his fleet, arrived off Sandusky Bay. General Harrison immediately went on board to consult as to future operations. It was agreed that the commodore should go immediately in pursuit of the enemy before incumbering his ships with the land forces; but as the fleet was still deficient in men, the general agreed to furnish one hundred and fifty, to be selected from the whole army. This being done, Perry sailed immediately for Malden, where the British fleet was at anchor. He lay for some days before that place; but finding that the enemy showed no disposition to come out, he returned to the anchorage at Put-in Bay, at that time the only harbor on our side of the lake. After waiting there for some time, he was gratified on the 10th of September by the appearance of the enemy; and the same day was fought that celebrated action, by which Perry gained so much honor, and which resulted in the capture of the enemy's whole fleet.

In the meantime General Harrison had drawn together all the regular troops belonging to his army—so many of them at least as had been enlisted,—and a day or two after Perry's victory, he was joined by a strong corps of militia from Kentucky, commanded by Governor Shelby in person. The troops at fort Meigs joined the main army at the mouth of Portage river, except the mounted regiment under Colonel Johnson, which had orders

to advance by way of the river Raisin. On the 20th of September the general embarked with two brigades for Bass Island; and on the two succeeding days the rest of the troops arrived there. On the 25th the whole army passed over to the Middle Sister. These islands were found very convenient in the passage of the lake, as the men were thus enabled to avoid sea-sickness, and to secure their baggage against any ordinary storm. On the 26th, General Harrison sailed with Commodore Perry in the Ariel, to reconnoitre Malden, and select a point of debarkation. On his return he issued a general order prescribing the course to be pursued by the troops in landing and forming in order of battle, a paper drawn up with that clear and accurate minuteness, so necessary with troops, most of whose officers were wholly without experience, and entirely unacquainted with such manœuvres.

On the 27th, the army was embarked and sailed for the Canada shore. Just previous to landing, the general circulated among the troops a short but spirited address, which concluded as follows:— "Kentuckians! remember the river Raisin, but remember it only whilst the victory is suspended. The revenge of a soldier cannot be gratified upon a fallen enemy." The army landed in high spirits and good order, and contrary to expectation, without resistance. General Proctor, the British commander, had burned the fort, navy-yard, barracks, and public store-houses, and had retreated to Sandwich. The army encamped that night on the ruins of Malden, and the next day entered Sandwich, which by this time had also been evacuated by Proctor. General McArthur's brigade crossed over and took possession of Detroit; and the same

evening General Harrison issued a proclamation re-establishing the civil government of the territory of Michigan. On the 1st of October, Colonel Johnson with his mounted regiment joined the army at Sandwich, and the pursuit of Proctor was immediately commenced. He had retreated up the river Thames, and after a severe pursuit, was overtaken on the 5th, near the Moravian towns. He was strongly posted in an open wood, with his left resting on the river, and supported by artillery, and his right extending to a swamp which stretched along for a great distance, parallel to the river. This swamp was occupied by a strong body of Indians under the celebrated Tecumthe.

General Harrison drew up his infantry, one division, extending in a double line from the river to the swamp, opposite Proctor's troops; and the other division at right angles to the first, with its front extending along the swamp, with the view of preventing the Indians from turning his flank and getting into the rear.

Johnson's mounted regiment which led in the pursuit, was still in front of the infantry, and the general was somewhat at a loss how to dispose of it to advantage. But learning that the British regulars, in order to occupy all the ground between the river and the swamp, had been formed in open files, he resolved to try what effect upon them a charge by the mounted men would have. The regiment was accordingly drawn up in close column, and charging through the enemy's ranks, threw them into confusion, formed in their rear, and so far as the regulars were concerned, ended the battle almost in a moment. The British officers seeing no hopes of rallying their men, surrendered at once. Proctor with a few attendants, escaped by the fleetness of their horses.

The contest with the Indians on the left, was more severe. They advanced and poured in a galling fire not only upon the left of the mounted men, but also upon the infantry, and for a moment made some impression upon the left flank. Additional troops, however, were brought up, and being received with a severe fire in front, while a part of Johnson's regiment in the mean time had gained their rear, the Indians retreated with much precipitation, and severe loss.

In this battle fell Tecumthe, the celebrated Indian chief, who, ever since the commencement of the war, had been zealously employed on behalf of the British. The British government, sensible of the services he had rendered, granted a pension to his widow and children, who after the war resided for some time in the vicinity of Malden. The prophet lived also at the same place, supported in like manner by a British pension. After his brother's death, his communications with the Great Spirit came to an end; and he no longer possessed any influence or consequence among the Indians.

All the stores and artillery of the British army, as well as a great quantity of small arms, fell into the hands of the victorious troops. Among the artillery were three brass pieces, trophies of the revolutionary war, taken at Saratoga and Yorktown, which had been surrendered by General Hull.

It was always a rule with General Harrison on all occasions, to favor himself in nothing, but to share equally with the common soldiers the fatigues and hardships of the service. Upon the expedition up the Thames in pursuit of General Proctor, all his baggage was contained in a valise, while his bedding consisted of a single blanket

fastened over his saddle, and even this he gave to Colonel Evans, a British officer, who was wounded and taken prisoner. On the night after the battle he had thirty-five British officers, prisoners of war, to sup with him. All the fare he was able to give them, was fresh beef roasted before the fire, without either bread or salt. This had been the subsistence of the army during the pursuit, and the rations of the general were exactly those of the soldiers. Indeed he made it a point on every occasion, to set an example of fortitude and patience to his men, and to share with them every hardship, difficulty and danger. Whether marching or in camp, the whole army was regularly under arms at day-break; and however severe the weather, the general never failed to be out himself, and indeed was generally the first officer on horseback in the whole army.

The troops, on their return, arriving at Sandwich on the 10th, were transported across the strait to Detroit, where the Kentucky volunteers were dismissed. The Indian tribes, now that their British allies could support them no longer, sent in to the general to ask for peace. An armistice was granted them, and the subject of a final arrangement was referred to the government at Washington.

As the Northwestern frontier had now assumed a peaceful aspect, and as it was too late in the season to send an expedition against the posts on the upper lakes, which were still held by the British, General Harrison determined to take a part of the troops to the Niagara frontier, to assist in the operations going on in that quarter. General Cass was left, with his brigade, to protect the territory of Michigan, and that part of Upper Canada which

had submitted to the American arms. The rest of the troops, to the number of fifteen hundred men, were embarked on board the fleet, and arrived at Buffalo on the 24th of October. Thence General Harrison marched to Newark, a village on the Canadian side, near the outlet of the Niagara river, at that time held by the Americans. He was preparing for an attack on the British forces at Burlington Heights, when he received orders from the war department to send his troops to Sackett's harbor for the defence of that place. He accompanied the troops thither, and then proceeded to Washington by the way of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. In all those cities he was received with the highest honors, and most distinguished respect. He remained in Washington but a few days, when he departed for Ohio, at the urgent request of the president, who considered his presence there of importance, both as regarded the peace of the frontier, and towards the filling up of the regiments intended to be raised in the Western States.

General John Armstrong was at that time the Secretary of War,—a person principally known for his attempts to stir up a mutiny in the revolutionary army, when it was about to be disbanded after the peace of 1783. He seems from the beginning to have conceived some prejudice against General Harrison, and the plan of the campaign, for 1814, as submitted by him to the president, authorized the inference that Harrison would not be employed in any active service, but would be restricted to the command of the eighth military district, including Ohio, Indiana, and other Western States. The Secretary also interfered during the winter, more than once, with the internal arrangements of the district which Harrison commanded, in a manner

contrary to all military etiquette. Under these circumstances, General Harrison determined to resign his commission. It would indeed have been very convenient for him to have enjoyed the rank and emoluments of a major general, residing too at Cincinnati, where his family were; but under the circumstances, he felt that it would be a degradation to continue to hold his commission. He had no inclination for a nominal command, or to receive pay for services which he did not perform. Accordingly he addressed a letter of resignation to the Secretary, and a notification of it to the President. As soon as Governor Shelby heard of this affair, he sent a letter of remonstrance to the president against the acceptance of Harrison's resignation. But the president was away on a visit to Virginia, and in his absence, and without consulting with him, the secretary saw fit to accept the resignation. The president expressed his great regret that the letter of Governor Shelby had not been received earlier, as in that case the valuable services of General Harrison might have been preserved to the country for the ensuing campaign.

CHAPTER VII.

Harrison appointed a commissioner to treat with the Indians—Is elected to Congress—He demands an investigation of his conduct as commander of the Northwestern army—His militia bill—Pensions—General Jackson and the Seminole War—He is elected to the Senate of Ohio—Is chosen a Senator of the United States—Is appointed Minister to Colombia.

Though General Harrison had retired from the army, he still continued to be employed in the service of his country. In the summer of 1814, in conjunction with Governor Shelby and General

Cass, he was appointed to treat with the Indian tribes on the Northwestern frontier, who had been engaged in hostilities against the United States. The commissioners succeeded in concluding a treaty at Greenville, by which most of these tribes, —whom it was found impossible to keep neutral while a war was going on in their neighborhood,— agreed to take up arms in favor of the United States.

In 1815, after the peace with Great Britain, it became necessary in conformity with one of the articles of the treaty of Ghent, to offer to the several tribes who had taken part with the enemy, the restoration of the territories from which they had been expelled in consequence of the successful operations of General Harrison's army. General Harrison was placed at the head of the commission appointed for that purpose, and a treaty with the tribes interested, was made the same year at Detroit.

In 1816, General Harrison was elected from Ohio a member of the House of Representatives of the United States, to fill a vacancy, and also for the succeeding two years.

It has been observed,—and the truth of the observation is amply verified in the present case,— that in proportion to the merits and services of a public man, are the envy, malice and hatred with which, on the part of certain persons, he is always pursued. In the command of the Northwestern army, General Harrison was obliged to make many enemies. It was impossible for him to retain the good will of those government contractors whose outrageous frauds he detected and exposed; and he naturally fell under the displeasure of certain officers of the militia, whose total ignorance and incompetency frequently subjected them to the notice of the commander-in-chief. Add to this the

effect of that disposition, always so prevalent, to assume the part of a critic and a censor, and to detract even from the just merits of those whose reputation overshadows us; and allow further for the bitter party spirit which prevailed at that time, and which led those who were opposed to the war to circulate, if not to invent, the most unfounded calumnies against all those who were engaged in its prosecution;—take all these things into consideration and it will not be thought remarkable that, with all the popularity which General Harrison so justly enjoyed, there was a counter current of zealous and bitter dislike.

Some time previous to his election to Congress one of the army contractors, whose unjust gains had been diminished by General Harrison's vigilance, undertook to insinuate that his conduct had been partial and unjust, if not corrupt, with respect to the commissariat of the army. He had no sooner taken his seat in the House, than he resolved that this charge thus specifically made, should be forthwith investigated; and for that purpose, he asked for a committee. A committee of seven was accordingly appointed, of which Richard M. Johnson, (now Vice President of the United Sttates,) was chairman. After a thorough inquiry into the whole subject, and the examination of many witnesses, the committee made a unanimous report, in which they exculpated General Harrison in the fullest manner from all the charges brought against him, and paid a high compliment to his patriotism, disinterestedness, and devotion to the public service.

This calumny, and some others circulated at the same time, had produced a serious injury to General Harrison. They had caused the postpone-

ment of a resolution introduced into the United States Senate, for giving him the gold medal, and the thanks of Congress. As these calumnies were now silenced, the resolution was again called up. It passed the Senate unanimously, and was concurred in by the House, with but a single dissenting vote.

There were two great political objects which General Harrison had much at heart, and which he hoped his seat in the House might aid him in accomplishing. One was, a reform of the militia system; and the other, the relief of the veteran soldiers who had served in the revolutionary armies, as well as of those who had been wounded or otherwise disabled in the late war.

With respect to the existing militia system, no one had lately had greater experience than General Harrison of its total inefficiency. He was appointed chairman of a committee to take the subject into consideration, and subsequently brought in a bill, accompanied with an explanatory report, in which he maintained the following points:—1st, that a government constituted like ours should rely upon its militia for its defence, rather than on a standing army; 2d, that the militia, to be available, must be disciplined; and 3dly, that discipline can only be attained by a regular system of military instruction. The bill, the provisions of which were founded upon these general principles, was submitted to the executive, and was highly approved by all the heads of departments. It was supported by General Harrison in an eloquent speech. But Congress has always displayed a great aversion for any legislation on the subject of the militia. At this time, just escaped from a war, and weary of military details of which few of the members

had any personal knowledge, the subject was particularly unpalatable; and General Harrison's bill, after being postponed from session to session, was finally dropped for want of some one to sustain it, after he had left Congress.

In his other object he was more successful. His efforts joined with those of several other members, succeeded in procuring the passage of a law, by which the first step was taken toward rescuing the aged heroes of the revolution from the poverty and distress under which they had so long suffered. By his exertions also, the pensions of many invalids who had been severely wounded in the last war, were increased; and he introduced, sustained by an eloquent speech, and carried through the House, under very unfavorable circumstances, and in spite of a vigorous opposition, a bill for extending the pensions of the widows and orphans of those who had been killed in the service.

The question of acknowledging the independence of the South American Republics coming up while he was a member of the House, he warmly supported that measure. There also occurred during his membership that celebrated debate on the Seminole war, upon which subject he delivered an eloquent speech. He supported the resolutions of censure upon General Jackson's conduct in invading Florida, on the ground that a republican government should make no distinction between men; and should allow no man to say that *he* could do that with impunity which another could not. "No one," he added, in a spirit somewhat prophetic, "no one can tell how soon the example of such a censure may be beneficial." But while he sustained the resolutions of censure, he refused to join in the indiscriminate abuse which was levelled at

their object. He defended such of Jackson's acts as he thought right, and gave him credit for patriotic motives. The speech was moderate, manly and candid; but General Jackson never forgot, nor forgave it.

In 1819, General Harrison was elected a member of the State Senate of Ohio, an office which he held for two years. In 1824, he was elected to the Senate of the United States; and was appointed chairman of the military committe in place of General Jackson, who had resigned his seat.

As chairman of that committee he introduced a bill for preventing desertion from the army, which object he proposed to effect, not by an increase of punishment, but by elevating the moral character of the troops,—by raising the rank and increasing the pay of the non-commissioned officer, thus giving him consequence and respectability in his own eyes; and by holding out to the soldier additional inducements and motives for a faithful performance of his duty. This bill he supported in a well considered and animated speech. He also gave much time and attention to the consolidation of the pension acts, and the passage of a uniform law to embrace the cases of all who should be deserving of that sort of justice from their country.

In 1828, General Harrison was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the Republic of Colombia. He proceeded immediately upon his mission; landed at Maracaybo on the 22d December, and from that place repaired to Bogota, the capital of Colombia. He was received there with the most flattering demonstrations of respect; but his republican ideas, and the plain simplicity of his dress and manners, contrasted somewhat too strongly with the arbitrary opinions and the ostentatious

display which prevailed at the court of Bolivar, to be altogether agreeable to those who at that time had engrossed the powers of the Colombian government. They suspected him of favoring the opposite party in the state, and commenced a series of petty persecutions which rendered his situation extremely irksome, but against which he sustained himself with his usual gallantry and prudence. He was soon relieved, however from all embarrassments on this score; for one of the first acts of Jackson's administration was the recall of General Harrison from Columbia. His speech on the Seminole war had not been forgotten.

Before leaving the country, however, he addressed a letter to Bolivar, which has been much and deservedly celebrated. The Republic of Colombia was formed by the union of Venezuela, New Grenada, and a part of the old vice-royalty of Peru, (now called Equador,) provinces which have since separated and formed independent governments. There were two great parties in the state, one composed principally of the military and the priests, who were in favor of a strong and splendid government, with a plentiful infusion of aristocratical principles. The other party, which has ultimately prevailed in all the states of which Colombia was composed, was much more democratic in its ideas, and made the institutions of the United States their model. Bolivar, the president of Colombia, was strongly inclined to think and act with the first described of these two parties, and was much flattered by those who composed it. In consequence of some disturbances in Venezuela, he had been clothed with extraordinary powers, which he still continued to exercise, notwithstanding the disturbances were entirely suppressed; and a pro-

ject was set on foot to put the constitution aside altogether, and raise Bolivar to a dictatorship. This project originated with the members of the aristocratical party, who flattered themselves that as the officers, agents, and servants of a despotic executive, they might exercise much more power, and enjoy many more privileges, than they ever could hope for under a free constitution.

CHAPTER VIII.

Employments of General Harrison since his recall from Colombia — His person and character — He is nominated for the Presidency — His letter to Harmar Denny.

Since General Harrison's return from Colombia he has taken no active part in public life or political affairs, but has lived retired upon his farm at North Bend, on the Ohio, some miles below Cincinnati. Having never been rich, he was induced, as a means of providing for those dependent upon him, and supporting that plain but ample hospitality in which he has ever indulged, to accept the office of clerk of the courts for the county in which he resides, which office he still continues to hold. Those who acquire splendid fortunes by speculations on the public treasury, and those who regard as a mark of greatness, an indolent dependence on the contributions of private or political friends, may ridicule the man who secures for himself comfort and independence by the acceptance of a county clerkship; but no true republican, certainly, will ever think it a matter of reproach, that after passing so many years in the public service, and

enjoying so many opportunities to enrich himself, General Harrison should still remain poor; and still less will it be regarded as derogatory to his character, that he chooses to supply the deficiencies of his fortune by the honest exertion of his talents and industry in a useful and respectable employment.

But although General Harrison has never suffered a feeling of false pride to influence his conduct, he has ever exhibited whether in public or private life, the utmost delicacy of honor in all his pecuniary transactions.

Some years ago, it was ascertained that a large tract of land, near Cincinnati, which had been sold long before for a mere trifle, under an execution against the original proprietor, could not be held under that sale on account of some informality in the proceedings. The legal title was in General Harrison, and another gentleman who were the heirs at law. The value of this land had risen greatly, and was sufficient to form princely estates for these heirs, had they chosen to insist upon their legal rights. But under the circumstances, and as against the present holders, General Harrison did not think it just to insist upon his legal claim, and he induced his coheir to join with him in executing deeds of quit-claim to the land, without demanding any other consideration except a few hundred dollars, being the difference between the price for which the land sold under the execution, and its actual value at the time of that sale. There were, however, included in the tract, twelve acres, which were General Harrison's private property, by donation from his father-in-law, and which were improperly included in the sale made by the sheriff under the execution. This land he might have

reclaimed both legally and equitably; but such was his nice feeling of honor, and scrupulous regard for the rights of others, that he suffered this to go with the rest, receiving only the difference between the amount for which this land sold and its actual value at the time of the sale. These twelve acres thus relinquished are said to be now worth one hundred thousand dollars.

For his services as commander of the expedition to Tippecanoe, General Harrison never asked nor received any compensation; and the expenses which he was obliged to incur, as commander of the Northwestern army, so far exceeded his pay, that he found it necessary to sell a fine tract of land in order to meet them. Thus, during those campaigns, he not only risked his life, and gave the labor of his days and nights to the public service, but he contributed also a considerable portion of the small estate to sustain his country in that hour of peril.

In person, General Harrison is tall and slender. Although he never had the appearance of possessing a robust constitution, yet such have been the effects of habitual activity and temperance, that few men at his age enjoy so much bodily vigor. He has a fine dark eye, remarkable for its keenness, fire, and intelligence, and his face is strongly expressive of the vivacity of his mind, and the benevolence of his character.

The most remarkable traits of General Harrison, and those by which he has been distinguished throughout his whole career, are his disinterestedness, his regard for the comforts and the rights of others, his generous disposition, his mild and forbearing temper, his plain, easy and unostentatious manners. Though warm in his attachments, he

has never been violent or vindictive in his enmities. In a long life spent on the utmost frontier, and in constant collision with men, fierce, turbulent, and ungovernable, his moderation, and the reasonableness and justice of his conduct, have prevented him from being involved in any way in duels, or personal rencontres so common in those regions. He has always been able to guard his rights and sustain his position, without having recourse to pistols or dirks. In the exercise of that almost unlimited authority which was at times conferred upon him, he displayed his moderation by conforming himself to a rigid observance of existing statutes and the rights of the citizens; nor did he ever find it necessary, in the course of his military career, to set at defiance either the law of nations, or the civil laws of the state.

General Harrison never has been much connected with political parties. He never has become the favorite leader of a faction, upon whom the most elaborate flatteries are exhausted by a body of devoted partizans. His services have not been services to a party but services to the country. He stands free and untrammelled, ready, and able to serve his country again. Where can be found a man whose patriotism has been so thoroughly tried and proved—whose integrity, moderation and attachment to the interests of the people, are so unquestionable, or who is so well able to concentrate about him the great mass of honest and intelligent citizens, and with their aid and support, to rescue the constitution, so much endangered of late by party violence, and executive usurpation?

As General Harrison obtained the civil and military promotion which he has at times enjoyed, not by any party arrangements or system of under-

hand manœuvres, but through the spontaneous confidence and voluntary choice of his fellow citizens, so the circumstances under which he has become a candidate for the presidency are of the same character. The partisans and politicians have all been against him. It is nothing but the confidence and love of the people which caused him to be selected as a candidate. The principles upon which he would be likely to administer the government, should he ever enjoy the opportunity, may be judged of from the following letter of his to Harmar Denny in reply to a letter of that gentleman, informing him of the doings of the antimasonic convention assembled at Philadelphia :—

"North Bend, 2d Dec., 1838.

"Dear Sir:—As it is probable that you have by this time returned to Pittsburg, I do myself the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter from Philadelphia, containing the proceedings of the national democratic antimasonic convention, which lately convened in that city. With feelings of the deepest gratitude, I read the resolution unanimously adopted, nominating me as a candidate for the President of the United State. This is the second time that I have received from that patriotic party, of which you yourself are a distinguished member, the highest evidence of confidence that can be given to a citizen of our Republic. I would attempt to describe my sense of the obligations I owe them, if I were not convinced that any language which I could command would fall short of what I really feel. If, however, the wishes of the convention should be realized, and if I should second their efforts, I shall have it in my power to manifest my gratitude in a manner more acceptable to those whom you represent, than by any professions of it which I could at this time make ; I mean by exerting my utmost efforts to carry out the principles set forth in their resolutions, by ar-

resting the progress of the measures "destructive to the prosperity of the people, and tending to the subversion of their liberties," and substituting for them those sound democratic republican doctrines, upon which the administration of Jefferson and Madison were conducted.

"Among the principles proper to be adopted by any Executive sincerely desirous to restore the administration to its original simplicity and purity, I deem the following to be of prominent importance.

"I. To confine his service to a single term.

"II. To disclaim all right of control over the public treasure, with the exception of such part of it as may be appropriated by law, to carry on the public services, and that to be applied precisely as the law may direct, and drawn from the treasury agreeably to the long established forms of that department.

"III. That he should never attempt to influence the elections, either by the people or the state legislatures, or suffer the federal officers under his control to take any other part in them than by giving their own vote then they possess the right of voting.

"IV. That in the exercise of the veto power, he should limit his rejection of bills to: 1st. Such as are in his opinion unconstitutional. 2d. Such as tend to encroach on the rights of the states or individuals. 3d. Such as involving deep interests, may in his opinion require more mature deliberation or reference to the will of the people, to be ascertained at the succeeding elections.

"V. That he should never suffer the influence of his office to be used for purposes of a purely party character.

"VI. That in removals from office of those who hold their appointments during the pleasure of the Executive, the cause of such removal should always be communicated to the person removed, and if requested to the Senate, at the time the nomination of a successor is made.

"And last, but not least in importance,

"VII. That he should not suffer the Executive de-

partment of the government to become the source of legislation; but leave the whole business of making laws for the Union to the department to which the Constitution has exclusively assigned it, until they have assumed that perfected shape, where and when alone the opinions of the Executive may be heard. A community of power in the preparation of the laws between the legislative and executive departments, must necessarily lead to dangerous combinations, greatly to the advantage of a president desirous of extending his power. Such a construction of the constitution could never have been contemplated by those who framed it. They well knew that those who propose the bills, will always take care of themselves, or the interests of their constituents, and hence the provision in the Constitution, borrowed from that of England, restricting the originating of revenue bills to the immediate representatives of the people. So far from agreeing in opinion with the distinguished character who lately retired from the presidency, that congress should have applied to him for a project of a banking system, I think that such an application would have manifested not only great subserviency upon the part of that body, but an unpardonable ignorance of the chief danger to be apprehended from such an institution. That danger unquestionably consists in a union of interests between the executive and the bank. Would an ambitious incumbent of the executive chair neglect so favorable an opportunity as the preparing of the law would give him, to insert in it provisions to secure his influence over it? In the authority given to the president by the Constitution "to recommend to congress such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient," it was certainly never intended that the measures he recommended should be presented in a shape suited for the immediate decision of the legislature. The sages who made the Constitution, too well knew the advantages which the crown of England derives from the exercise of this power by its ministers, to have intended it to be used by our chief magistrate, or the heads of departments under his

control. The boasted principles of the English Constitution, that the consent of the democratic branch is not only necessary to draw money from the people, but that it is its inviolable prerogative also to originate all the bills for that purpose, is true in theory, but rendered utterly false and nugatory in effect, by the participation of the ministers of the crown in the details of legislation. Indeed the influence they derive from sitting as members of the House of Commons, and from wielding the immense patronage of the crown (constitutional or usurped,) gives them a power over that body, that renders plausible, at least, the flattery, or as it is more probable, the intended sarcasm of Sir Walter Raleigh, in an address to James I., that the demand of the sovereign upon the Commons for pecuniary aid, was required only 'that the tax might *seem* to come from themselves.'

"Having thus given you my opinion of some things which might be done, and others which should not be done, by a President coming into power by the support of those of the people who are opposed to the principles upon which the present administration is conducted, you will see that I have omitted one, which is deemed by many of as much importance as any other. I allude to the appointment of members of Congress to office by the President. The Constitution contains no prohibition of such appointments, no doubt because its authors could not believe in its necessity, from the purity of character which was manifested by those who possessed the confidence of the people at that period. It is, however, an opinion very generally entertained by the opposition party, that the country would have escaped much of the evil under which it has suffered for some years past, if the Constitution had contained a provision of that kind. Having had no opportunity of personal observation on the conduct of the administration for the last ten years, I am unable to decide upon the truth or error of this opinion. But I should be very willing that the known subserviency of the Legislature to the Execu-

tive, in several memorable instances, should be accounted for in a way somewhat less injurious to the character of the country, and of republicanism itself, than by the admission that the fathers of the land, the trusted servants of a virtuous people, could be seduced from the path of duty and honor, by the paltry trappings and emoluments of dependent offices. But if the evil really exists, and if there be good reason to believe that its source is to be found in the corruptibility of members of the Legislature, an effectual remedy cannot be too soon applied. And it happens in this instance that there is a choice of remedies. One of those, however, is in my opinion free from the objections which might be offered to the other. The one to which I object is, that which the late President has been so loudly called upon to adopt, in consequence of a promise made at the commencement of his administration, viz. that the Executive under no circumstances should appoint to office a member of either branch of the National Legislature. There are, in my mind, several weighty reasons against the adoption of this principle. I will detain you with the mention of but two of them, because I believe that you will agree with me, that the alternative I shall present, while it would be equally effectual, contains no feature to which a reasonable objection could be made.

" As the Constitution contains no provision to prevent the appointment of members of Congress to office by the Executive, could the Executive with a due regard to delicacy and justice, without usurping power from the people, declare a disqualification which they had not thought necessary? And where is the American citizen who regards the honor of his country, the character of its people, or who believes in the superiority of a republican form of government, who would be willing to proclaim to the world, that the youthful nation which has attracted so much of its attention, which it has so much admired for its gigantic strength, its undaunted courage, its high attainments in literature and the arts, and the external

beauty of its institutions, was, within, a mass of meanness and corruption? That even the chosen servants of the people, were ever ready for a paltry consideration, to abandon their allegiance to their lawful sovereigns and to become the servants of a servant.

The alternative to this degrading course, is to be found in depriving the Executive of all motive for acquiring an improper influence over the Legislature.

"To effect this, nothing in my opinion is necessary but to re-establish the principles upon which the administration was once conducted with a single addition of limiting the service of the president to one term. A condensed enumeration of what I conceive these principles to have been, is given above. And I think no one can doubt, that, if faithfully carried out, they would be effectual in securing the independence of the Legislature, and confining the connection between it and the Executive, to that alone which is warranted by a fair construction of the Constitution. I can conceive of but two motives which could induce a president of the United States to endeavor to procure a controlling influence over the Legislative body, viz.—to perpetuate his power by passing laws to increase his patronage—or to gratify his vanity, by obtaining their sanction to his schemes and projects for the government of the country; and thus assimilating his situation to that of the limited monarchs of Europe. The principles above suggested, would effectually destroy any disposition of the person elected by the combined votes of the opposition, to place himself in either attitude. Retiring at the end of four years to private life, with no wish or prospect of any "son of his succeeding," legitimate or adopted, he would leave the government as prosperous and pure in its administration, as when it passed from the hands of the great "Apostle of Democracy," to the Father of our Constitution.

"To the duties which I have enumerated, so proper in my opinion to be performed by a President, elected by the opposition to the present administration, (and which are, as I believe, to be of constitu-

tional obligation,) I will add another which I believe also to be of much importance. I mean the observance of the most conciliatory conduct towards our political opponents. After the censure which our friends have so freely and justly bestowed upon the present Chief Magistrate, for having, in no inconsiderable degree, disfranchised the whole body of his political opponents, I am certain that no oppositionist, true to the principles he professes, would approve a similar course of conduct in the person whom his vote has contributed to elect. In a Republic, one of the surest tests of a healthy state of its institutions, is to be found in the immunity with which every citizen may, upon all occasions, express his political opinions and even his prejudices, in the discharge of his duty as an elector.

"The question may perhaps be asked of me, what security I have in my power to offer, if the majority of the American people should select me for their Chief Magistrate, that I would adopt the principles which I have herein laid down as those upon which my administration would be conducted. I could only answer, by referring to my conduct, and the disposition manifested in the discharge of the duties of several important offices, which have heretofore been conferred upon me. If the power placed in my hands has, on even a single occasion, been used for any purpose other than that for which it was given, or retained longer than was necessary to accomplish the objects designated by those from whom the trusts were received, I will acknowledge that either will constitute a sufficient reason for discrediting any promise I may make, under the circumstances in which I am now placed.

"I am, dear sir, truly yours,

"W. H. HARRISON.

"To the Hon. Harmar Denny."

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